

Tracing witches and wizards in Europe

----- Münchener Zeitung -----
für Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur und Sport

Customs and traditions are so ephemeral that research of this kind is a race against time, the more so at the moment since technological progress is proceeding at such a rate that in a short while many charming customs will be extinct and forgotten.

(Münchener Merkur, 25 June 1970)

Flight of fancy sends Bavarian police on wild-goose chase

With its blue light flashing and siren

Nobody had sent out a call for a former employee and there was a Boeing in distress. H... had to say that his story of the plane's pilot was seriously ill with symptoms of poison and the Boeing being brought in by a trainee pilot was just a flight of fancy. "I just wanted to seem big like a girlfriend," he said. But now he is dealing with impersonation and raising a big alarm and will have to pay the cost of a free ride through Bavaria in the Leoben police car.

(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 29. Juni)

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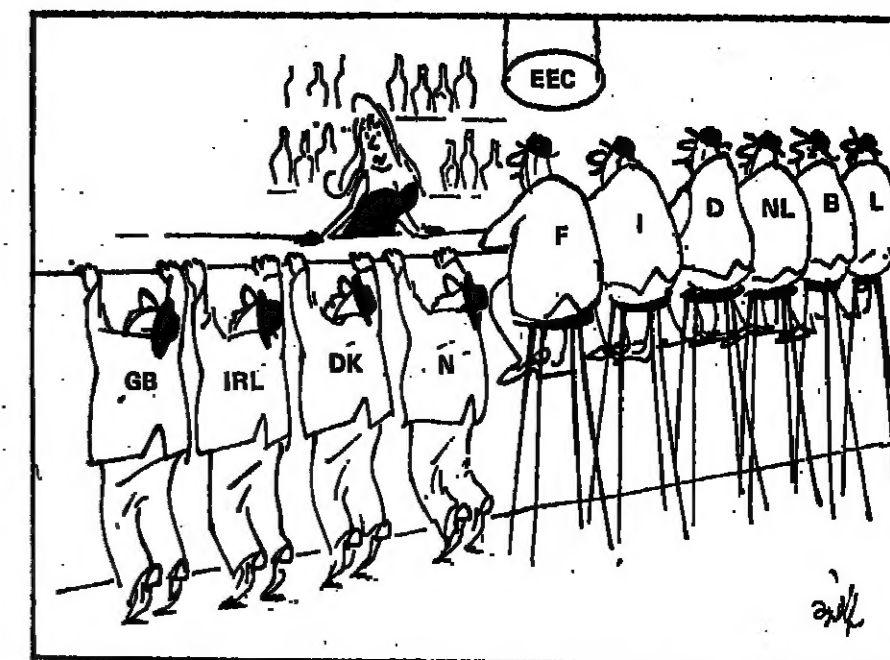
But whenever and wherever you fly
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to help you.

The German Tribune

C 20725 C

EEC entry negotiations will have world-wide repercussions

4 It can only be hoped that the Foreign Minister, who at the urgent request of



You can join the Big Boys Club soon!

(Cartoon: Fritz Wolf/Kieker Nachrichten)

Can the EEC seriously expect its future partners to allow themselves to be talked

It does, of course, transcend one's political imagination to envisage failure of these negotiations too. Europe has been granted a fresh opportunity, an undeserved one, it might almost be said — of summoning its strength over the forthcoming decade. It is an opportunity that must not be wasted.

Hans Herbert Götz
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 20. Juli 1970)

Friends in the West back Foreign Minister Scheel wholeheartedly

Partly but not entirely due to a certain amount of disagreement on this score.

Herr Scheel will not, in any case, have an easy time of it even if the Soviet Union unexpectedly were to divulge in the Berlin Talks what it might be prepared to concede on Berlin.

IN THIS ISSUE

play with death

being followed attentively and none so happily both by Moscow and by Washington.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Controlling oil is Moscow's main Mid-East aim

Moscow's proposals for a settlement of the Middle East crisis are evidently intended to divest Israel of a number of trump cards it now holds while in return conceding a number of none too serious improvements on the situation as in 1967.

The proposal for either the UN Security Council, of which the Soviet Union is a permanent member, or the Four Powers guarantee the frontiers is aimed at gaining international blessing, as it were, for Soviet presence in the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

This plan represents the latest stage of a policy intensified since the death of Stalin and including both economic and political elements.

The way was opened for a policy of Soviet infiltration, systematically pursued since 1953, when Nasser in 1952, at that time an apparently minor figure, overthrew King Farouk and began what was, to begin with, cautious progress towards a socialist state coupled with determined opposition to the Communists.

By the end of 1953 there were definite

signs of increased Soviet contacts with Middle Eastern countries, which, until the end of the Second World War at least, had mainly been Western-oriented.

These countries were lent political support, arms deals were made and financial and cultural links developed.

Admittedly, relations between Moscow and Nasser, who was recently in the Soviet capital again, have never been entirely trouble-free.

Since 1956 Egypt, like Syria and Yemen, has been supplied with arms from the Eastern Bloc but Soviet support for the Kassem regime in Iraq, to which Nasser was opposed, and the Egyptian head of state's attacks on Arab Communists have seriously strained relations between the two countries.

Nasser attempted to stabilise his ties with the United States by declaring himself prepared to accept financial support from Washington and the first signs of a relaxation of tension between Cairo and Moscow did not materialise until May 1959, promptly being honoured by a ninety-million-Mark Soviet loan.

Above all the United States but also Britain failed to grasp what was probably the decisive opportunity of gaining influence in Egypt when in 1956 they refused to aid construction of the Aswan dam.

Realising the economic and further-reaching political possibilities the Soviet Union obliged in a 1,250-million-Mark project of incalculable propaganda value.

The spell was then broken, regardless of further tension between Nasser and Moscow in 1961 on account of the poor treatment of Communists in Egypt and Syria, which at that time formed part of the UAR.

Moscow gave foreign policy considerations precedence over ideological ones, however, and Kassem enabled the Soviet Union to penetrate Iraq. He was promptly rewarded with financial aid to the tune of 451 million Marks.

Jordan did not establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union until 1964 but there could be no doubt that there too, as in other pro-Western countries such as Tunisia, Lebanon and Kuwait, the bacillus of non-alignment — a step in Moscow's direction — was beginning to take effect. In 1967 King Hussein paid his first visit to the Soviet Union.

Since 1954 and 1955 the scope of Soviet military and financial assistance and thus influence in the Arab countries has continually increased. By the time of the Six Days' War in 1967 the Eastern Bloc had offered the Arab countries 19,800 million Marks' worth of aid, half of this for arms purchases.

Only a third of the assistance promised

has been given, yet ninety per cent of the arms have been delivered. It will be remembered to what extent the Soviet Union re-equipped the defeated Arab armed forces after the June war, including the provision of a Sam 3 missile system costing an estimated 3,500 million Marks.

As long ago as the 1956 Suez campaign the Soviet Union offered Egypt massive assistance, even nuclear. It is assumed that the hot line between Moscow and Washington was used to forestall direct Soviet intervention in the Six Days' War.

Although the Soviet Union gave up its submarine base in Vlorë, Albania, in 1961 following the establishment of close ties between Albania and China Moscow has since systematically boosted its naval presence in the Mediterranean.

It is not merely a matter of being able to bring military influence to bear. There is also the Arab oil. Oil is not only to be withheld from the West should the need arise; it is also needed to meet growing Soviet and Eastern Bloc requirements and help expand trade with Western Europe.

Since the middle of last year the Russians have by virtue of a treaty with Iraq, the right to help exploit the Rumaila oilfields. The Soviet Union is also building Iraq a port on the Persian Gulf.

The forthcoming British withdrawal from the Gulf will, what is more, create a vacuum that is probably an interesting proposition for Moscow.

There are many indications that Nasser will not have been fully satisfied with the outcome of his recent talks in Moscow.

He evidently continues to harbour illusions that do not meet with the approval of the advocates of *realpolitik* in Moscow, who have consistently pursued a long-term strategy.

It is doubtful whether he and his Arab friends will realise that Soviet support for the Arab cause against Israel is less a matter of spreading Communism, to which Moscow would not of course object, than one of specific political and economic advantages. *Georg Gussmann* (Händelsblatt, 14 July 1970)

Melina Mercouri to be tried in absentia

Criminal proceedings against absentee defendants are usually decidedly political in nature. The show trial the Greek junta plans to stage against a number of its opponents all over the world is no exception.

The threat to the regime from without represented by Andreas Papandreu, Melina Mercouri and Mikis Theodorakis, differ though they may as individuals, is evidently felt by military to be greater than analysts of the Greek scene have so far felt to be the case.

That these three personalities are to be tried in absentia in the same way as Greek journalists living in this country who make no bones about their feelings towards the regime would seem to lend support to the supposition that the junta feels threatened.

The projected proceedings against Theodorakis are particularly grotesque, the composer only recently having been given the opportunity to leave the country.

In view of recent mop-up of opposition within the Greek armed forces it is far from impossible that the trials are symptomatic of struggle within the junta itself.

It will soon be seen whether the show trial is intended to paper over differences of opinion within the junta one last time or merely represents a further step on the monotonous ladder of an authoritarian government. (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 July 1970)

Chancellor Brandt visits Pope Paul

Dignified and ramrod straight, required by Papal ceremonial, Brandt, bearing the insignia of the Order of Pius, strode through the Vatican rooms.

The reception given to him by Paul on 13 July was decidedly cordial. His public speeches were chilly in contrast. Visitor and host did not begin to talk until they reached the privacy of Papal library.

For more than half an hour the assistance by Eastern Bloc specialists (see 1), questioned the Chancellor solely the Bonn's policy towards the East in general and the forthcoming Oder-Neisse agreement in particular.

Finally he encouraged Herr Brandt to continue with the present approach. Bonn's chief government spokesman, Egon Bahr, even talked in terms of agreement to regulate ecclesiastical problems in the East after the treaty between Bonn and Warsaw.

Virtually nothing of all this was reflected in the two men's speeches. The Pope may have talked of building bridges between nations and praised European unification as envisaged by that "young European, Adenauer," but his main topic was education, young people and family, about all of which he sounded warning notes.

For fear the audience accorded to Brandt could be utilised for political purposes Paul VI canvassed Christian Democratic-tinged politics, the result that his guest emphasised Democracy more than he had intended doing.

At short notice the Chancellor took the text of his speech, deleting a mass of sincere understanding between Church and state and incorporating a catalogue of social policy topics ranging from workers' participation in management instead. (DIE ZEIT, 17 July 1970)

An unfortunate error occurred in the caption, page one of issue 432 dated 22.7.1970. The last sentence of the caption should have read: Egon Bahr (left), Alexander Vahl, Chancellor Brandt and the governing Mayor of Berlin, Klaus Scholtz, at the meeting in the Berg Town Hall.

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VIEWPOINT

Adenauer's blinkered successors

Why is there no unity in Bonn on foreign policy any more? Why is there an increasing tendency towards the two-party system? Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation, Erhard Eppler's answer explained at length in the following article is that the CDU cannot face up to the responsibilities of its own policies. The SPD is now having to cope with the heritage of Konrad Adenauer.

In East Bloc policy the Christian Democrat and Christian Social Union parties are looking for outright confrontation at a moment when negotiations are beginning to run more smoothly than many people who knew the bases for these negotiations had expected.

Those who know what is what in the CDU/CSU are just as anxious about the possibility of their endeavours succeeding as they are of their failing!

Just imagine some time in 1971 the once and future Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger standing up in public and declaring that he would like to come to terms with and open negotiations with that phenomenon, that tract of land, which as a nation is non-existent, the other part of Germany! He would be laughed out of court by the whole world, and not he alone.

The CDU/CSU would have only two alternatives — they would have to lose face in this country by carrying on where Brandt left off. Or they would have to cut themselves off completely in the foreign policy sphere.

If, despite this, the battlecry goes up the Federal Republic would be plunged back twenty years in time to the early fifties when there was last a confrontation on foreign policy.

Looking back to those days one thing is clear — Konrad Adenauer's main aim was the speedy integration of the Federal Republic in the West. The SPD was at this time sounding out whether there was a possibility of coming to terms with the other part of Germany, perhaps by foregoing this alliance with the West.

An interesting comment on what happened in those days came on 25 June 1963 when Eugen Gerstenmaier, as President of the Bundestag, greeted President John F. Kennedy in the Paulskirche with the following words:

"The determination and reliability that the United States of America has shown right here in the Federal Republic in its fight for the cause of world liberty is not the cause, but rather the practical prerequisite for the basic reorientation of this country's political thought since the Second World War."

"The cause is the change in the people of this country, our insight into the tragic turn of history as it affects us and our rejection of the ideals and methods of the old, sovereign nation-state."

"We have intentionally given up any idea of re-establishing this country as an independent giant standing between the East and the West in favour of building a new and lasting bond of friendship between the countries of Europe and the new world across the Atlantic."

"In so doing we are achieving more than simply making a virtue out of the necessity of defeat."

What this signifies is that: 1) In the early fifties Adenauer's priorities were, firstly "the lasting community of the nations of Europe and the new world across the Atlantic" and secondly the unity of the German nation. This was not because he did not



Konrad Adenauer led the Federal Republic delegation to Moscow in September 1955 to negotiate diplomatic recognition with Khrushchev and Bulganin (Photo: AP)

want the latter but because the former seemed more important to him.

*2) This decision was not simply a legal one backed by a majority in the Bundestag but was also a legitimate one. In weighing up the opportunities and risks of the two alternatives he came to this conclusion which I have always considered incorrect but politically legitimate.

*3) This decision of Adenauer's is irreversible. No one can wipe it out and no one wants to. Whoever heads the government in Bonn must work from this basis. This was clearly stated by Herbert Wehner in a speech on 30 June 1960.

What is causing politicians today such difficulties is less this decision than the manner in which it was put across — as a step towards German unity. Whatever was to be said in favour of Adenauer's policy it was not this.

All concerned knew that after ratification of the Paris treaties the subject of reunification of Germany would not be considered by the Soviet Union. The Allied Powers since that time have concerned themselves solely with carrying out their duties which have become of diminishing significance.

The Social Democrats understood this well and saw no reasonable grounds for the Soviet Union not sticking to their guns. And Konrad Adenauer himself was well aware of the facts of the matter and said so among a small group of intimates on several occasions.

The only ones to turn a blind eye to the facts were those who took literally the points made by Adenauer in his election manifestos for 1953 and 1957. Fifteen years of object lessons have done little to change the situation.

In the course of time there was a complete and grotesque volte face by both sides. The Social Democrats gave

increasingly more intensive consideration to how they could secure peaceful co-existence and cooperation between West and East based on Adenauer's decision despite everything, while the CDU clung ever more firmly to the ideal of reunification in direct proportion to the diminishing chances of this becoming reality.

Instead of saying to the people of this country: "We consider this policy necessary in the interests of our security, but you can't have everything!" the CDU/CSU went all out to demonstrate that they had been in favour of reunification from the start.

The origins of the present-day poisoned atmosphere are to be found in the ever-lasting desire for self-justification. Today the CDU is calling for the situation to be "kept open" while they were the ones who — for reasons which are a bone of contention — fifteen years since went all out to ensure that the situation was kept anything but open.

What was kept open then — the fact that no nation can surrender its right to self-determination — will remain open if the Brandt-Scheel government succeeds in reaching an agreement with the Soviet Union on the renunciation of the use of force.

The political decision, however, that the German people must for a long period live in two separate states was — and I repeat for reasons that are a bone of contention — taken a long time ago.

It is now a question of ensuring — as the CDU/CSU know quite as well as the government — that our Republic should find its place in peaceful Europe, that its significance in the world should not be weakened and neutralised over a long period. For the Federal Republic there are several gateways to the world, including the Third World, that stand open, but

only if the words of President Nyerere of Tanzania are heeded: "It is no business of our friends to hunt down our enemies."

The main concern at the moment is not reunification, but the question of whether the Federal Republic as a mature member of the comity of nations is satisfied with this role or whether this country is likely to raise objections on the grounds that it will be admitting that the German Democratic Republic has become a mature nation.

If German policy is not to stumble over itself, if the Federal Republic is not to become incapable of taking action on the foreign policy scene, two factors must be considered:

1. The SPD must leave no doubts that it recognises the political legitimacy of the Adenauer decision.

2. The CDU/CSU must take up a position with regard to its own history. It must cease recognising only the positive achievements of the past twenty years and must lay aside all those negative conclusions that now accompany every political decision it makes.

As far as the SPD is concerned Willy Brandt has fulfilled the first condition. Even in his Berlin days he had far fewer reservations about Konrad Adenauer's policies than many of his party colleagues. He is being honourable in recognising that on 13 August 1961 for him a curtain was drawn back and the stage became empty.

He has no intention of throwing back the CDU/CSU's former policies in their face. Nor can he understand why the Christian Democrats and the Christian Socialists are frightened of their own policies without having a long-term idea of how they can escape from their clutches.

It should not be forgotten that the Weimar Republic collapsed because the German right-wing politicians could not come to terms with the consequences of their own policies.

The Christian Democrat and Christian Social Union parties will have to make up their minds whether they are going to continue along these lines.

They will have to make a firm decision whether they intend to accuse the Chancellor of trying to sell something that is not his — something which the CDU/CSU might once have been able to sell if the price had been right, which for several reasons it was not.

The Christian Democrats and the Christian Socialists trying to escape the clutches of their own history — this has become a ticklish situation for this country.

I know what the answer will be: "We do not need to flee from our own history. There is nothing in it to be ashamed of."

This is my opinion, too. *Erhard Eppler* (DIE ZEIT, 17 July 1970)

The Opposition plays the waiting game

The remarkable attitudes of the right-wing parties to the Brandt government's *Ostpolitik* have been made even more remarkable by a remark made recently!

This time the copyright belongs to someone other than Herr Franz Josef Strauss — this time the perpetrator is the head of the Opposition in Düsseldorf, Heinrich Köppler.

Herr Köppler, speaking to representatives of the foreign press in Bonn, let slip that he considered it would be "problematic" if the Christian Democrats and Christian Socialists came to power again before the present legislative period had come to an end.

The reason for this line of thought is every bit as outspoken as it is revealing: Köppler said that if the Brandt government were toppled before its rightful time this might lead to the emergence of another *stab-in-the-back myth!* This could result in another defeat for the CDU/CSU.

To put it another way — the Christian

Democrat and Christian Social Union parties are quite content to leave the full responsibilities of arranging terms with the Communist Bloc to the present Social Democrat/Free Democrat government.

They do not, however, want to take the rap if these negotiations should fall through, although they are working towards this end using all the tactical and rhetorical means at their disposal.

The most recent tactical manoeuvre has been the demand that the Opposition should be represented at the talks with Moscow and that Franz Josef Strauss should be the man to represent them.

In these circumstances it is incomprehensible why Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel never tire of trying to assure us that they would like a representative of the CDU/CSU at the Bonn-Moscow talks.

Their assurances could be interpreted as a sign of indecision, since the Opposition parties are making it quite clear that they will not allow themselves to be utilised simply to "give covering fire on the *Ostpolitik* sootie".

Likewise the Christian Democrat experts are not prepared to accept the draft plan put forward by State Secretary Egon Bahr as the basis for negotiations — they have dubbed this, sparing nothing for dramatic effect, a kind of treaty for the betrayal of the Federal Republic.

Brandt and Scheel would be ill-advised to go on hoping for a "broader basis" for their *Ostpolitik*. They should not stall until the Bahr Paper has been torn to shreds and is no longer an acceptable basis for negotiations even in Moscow's eyes.

A gloating Opposition is waiting for this joyous moment and Köppler uttered the thoughts behind their reasoning: the Opposition wants to wash its hands of the guilt!

B. Brigitte (Läbecker Nachrichten, 10 July 1970)

Brutality in Saigon — but also in Hanoi and Red China

American democracy has its drawbacks but when it comes to human suffering it can be remarkably effective. Nearly 500 South Vietnamese political prisoners detained in gruesome conditions on an island in the South China Sea have been flown to Saigon and will probably be released because of the hue and cry in the United States caused by the disclosures of two American politicians.

As members of Congress they insisted on investigating rumours according to which the detainees were imprisoned in inhuman tiger cages, holes in the ground covered with cement slabs.

When these dreadful rumours turned out to be true the two men did not hesitate for a moment to point an accusing finger at their South Vietnamese allies in the eyes of the world.

Pilloried by public opinion, the Thieu government yielded. Saigon clearly decided for reasons of common sense rather than humanity to give way to the uproar and disgust in America.

Unfortunately this way of bringing pressure to bear on the inhuman behaviour of Asian governments can only be put into limited effect. Political prisoners in North Vietnam are treated with the same brutality — in Red China too.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 July 1970)

Consulate agreement with Warsaw

The first talks on the establishment of consular relations between this country and Poland have been concluded in Warsaw. Foreign Ministry officials from the two countries are shortly to meet again.

It may seem regrettable that agreement on extension of the rights of the Federal Republic trade mission in Warsaw and the Polish trade mission in Cologne was not reached in the first round of talks.

The Federal government could well do with some such success in its policy towards the Eastern Bloc, but it is not a question of appearance but of a long-term undertaking, the normalisation of relations between this country and Poland.

Superficial demonstrations would hardly be of benefit for the aim in view. What is needed is an agreement satisfactory to both sides.

It is as well that time is being taken and that negotiations are detailed and protracted. This will serve to prevent later misunderstandings and misinterpretations.

What is important is that the exchange does not come to an abrupt end and on this there can be no doubt. A long-term trade agreement between Bonn and Warsaw has been concluded and political negotiations are shortly to be resumed.

(Händelsblatt, 13 July 1970)

CENTREPIECE

The arguments for and against 'Ostpolitik'

BY PROFESSOR MARTIN KRIELE OF COLOGNE UNIVERSITY

What advantages will the Federal Republic enjoy if the government's *Ostpolitik* is blessed with success, and what risks are involved? The general election last autumn gave the public only a fragmentary idea of what to expect from the Brandt government and this has led to the spread of a good deal of uncertainty.

1. The rule that international negotiations are confidential until they have been brought to a conclusion is well founded. If each of the stepping stones towards a final agreement is made public the negotiators on both sides might easily be led to feel that they are bound to keep to these intermediate agreements as a matter of prestige.

The leak of the Bahr paper might result in the Soviet Union refusing to allow any more substantial concessions.

Now that every Tom, Dick and Harry knows the content of the Bahr paper the impression has been given that the precise direction of our negotiations is an open secret. Many commentators interpret the situation as a partial success but one which has not brought the advantage of securing peace. The overall concept of the government's *Ostpolitik* contains six separate elements which make up the whole.

1. Berlin's position is to be made safer. The current Four-Power talks on Berlin and the negotiations between Bonn and Moscow are to be linked from the outset. The basic idea behind the overall concept is: The communist bloc will guarantee non-interference with West Berlin, the city's links with the Federal Republic and its access routes. In return we will respect the inviolability of European frontiers (which we could not violate in any event).

For legal reasons the two problems can only be debated around separate negotiating tables. The Four Powers alone are responsible for Berlin. They can, however, only achieve compromises from Moscow in connection with a Federal Republic-Soviet Union renunciation of the use of force agreement.

For our part, the Soviet Union has known from the outset, the Federal Republic-Soviet Union agreement on the renunciation of the use of force can only be completed after the satisfactory conclusion of the negotiations on Berlin.

As it said in Paragraph One of the Bahr paper the Soviet Union should recognise the "current real situation" and accept at the very least the intimate legal, economic and cultural ties between Berlin and the Federal Republic.

Sovereign rights protected

2. The German Democratic Republic leadership should be urged to make concessions. At the preparatory talks with State Secretary Egon Bahr the Soviet Union stressed that the provisions on the sovereignty of the three Western powers with regard to the Federal Republic and of the Soviet Union with regard to the German Democratic Republic were the prerequisites for the legal idea of the continued existence of "Germany". The "latent idea of a Germany", which does not in fact exist at the moment, is "latent" in both States and so the relationship of one State to the other cannot be discussed in the usual contexts of international law.

The Soviet Union is not calling for the German Democratic Republic to be recognised in international law by the Federal Republic. Therefore, in the long run, the GDR leaders will find it difficult to keep up this demand. Since all are agreed that conclusions reached at negotiations with the various Eastern European nations "form a unified whole" the idea suggests itself that we should wait for the ratification of the Federal Republic-Soviet Union agreement until the German Democratic Republic has formulated satisfactory settlements. There are signs that this state of affairs is no longer being overlooked in East Berlin.

At any rate, if the German Democratic Republic attempted further spilling tactics it would be pushed into further international isolation. If our *Ostpolitik* founded on the rocks of domestic policy this could lose us opportunities and lead to greater international sympathy for the German Democratic Republic leadership.

3. German endeavours for self-determination and reunification are to be respected. Of course, self-determination and reunification are not bases for negotiating a treaty in the present situation the cannot be. But our

"What does Bonn's Eastern policy offer, if it succeeds, and what are its risks?" Professor Martin Kriele, a lecturer in law at the University of Cologne, attempts to give a reply. The dissertations by Kriele make detailed references to the working paper brought back from his discussions in Moscow by State Secretary Egon Bahr. This is made particularly topical by the recent publication of an unauthorised version of the so-called "Bahr Paper" in the West German press.

political claims are no longer considered detrimental to the cause of peace—even by Moscow.

Mutual agreements on the renunciation of the use of force do not run contrary to these endeavours. In order to preclude any doubts and uncertainties it is planned to ask the Soviet Union at the successful completion of negotiations to sign a pledge showing that the Russians understand and accept our interpretation of the situation. In short they accept that self-determination and reunification are compatible with the renunciation of the use of force treaty. This would avoid any possible future misunderstandings and conflicts on how the treaty should be interpreted.

4. The provisions on intervention in articles 53 and 107 of the United Nations Charter are to be questioned as long as the Soviet Union guarantees that it will adhere to the basic principles laid down in article 2 of the Charter in its dealings with the Federal Republic. These include among other things respect of territory, political independence and renunciation of the threat or use of force.

In this respect the "enemy state" clauses are superfluous just as much as they are made superfluous by the declaration of the three Western powers made on 3 October 1954.

The Western powers underlined "that articles 53 and 107 of the United Nations Charter do not grant any rights for any country to undertake unilateral intervention in the internal affairs of another state" in a statement of 28 November 1969.

With this statement the Western powers have not added to their declaration of the renunciation of the use of force but have simply made clear that in their opinion the Soviet Union cannot unilaterally benefit from the "enemy state" clauses. It would be superfluous to demand a similar declaration from the Soviet Union taking into consideration the fact that the word "unilateral" is ambiguous and easily twisted.

To expunge the proviso by altering the United Nations Charter would be unsuccessful for practical reasons. This would require a two-thirds majority at a meeting of all members of the United Nations Security Council.

Any attempt to set amendments to the Charter in motion would necessarily involve alterations to other clauses in the Charter. Pursuing such a course would be bound to lead to disruptive controversies. (For example the "Troika idea" suggested by Khrushchev, and alterations to the organisation of the Security Council).

For this reason no one is prepared at the moment to call for alterations to the United Nations Charter. Last year Japan did attempt to make moves towards the abolition of the "enemy state" clauses, but faced with these practical difficulties the Japanese dropped the idea.

5. From the outset the Soviet Union has been trying to make this country invalidate the Munich Agreement.

Questions raised in connection with invalidating this agreement should be discussed with Czechoslovakia and lead to a result acceptable to both sides. This understanding was engineered by the explanation that, invalidating the Munich Agreement would from the outset lead to certain repercussions concerning the legal position of the Sudeten Germans which would be unacceptable for this country. In this respect it could become a vital factor that political agreements with East Bloc countries should be seen as a unified whole.

6. A peace treaty should not be anticipated. Both sides are agreed that the concord on the renunciation of the use of force would for legal reasons not mean a definitive overall resolution of Federal Republic-Soviet Union problems but would be an intermediate step that would not be a substitute for a future peace agreement.

The rights and responsibilities of the three Western powers with regard to formulating a peace treaty from article 2 of the German Treaty and the political declaration of intent of the three Western powers signed on 3 October 1954 aimed at negotiating a peace treaty and creating a unified Germany would remain untouched.

In addition the duty contained in Basic Law to us for reunification would in no way be limited or infringed. In as much as boundaries are not described "fixed" but as "inviolable" there is agreement that outcome of freely negotiated decisions boundaries are re-drawn.

11. All in all when considering this overall concept the Federal Republic's *Ostpolitik* numerous written objections are seen to be unfounded. One of these is the idea that respecting the inviolability of frontiers in itself mean the recognition of the German Democratic Republic in international law, would infringe legal rights of the allied powers, would contravene Basic Law and would endanger Berlin.

On the other hand a number of critical questions require serious consideration and discussion.

1. Is the *Ostpolitik* making continued peace more likely? The government in Bonn and our allies in the West take the view that peace is unstable and threatened. The possibility of a nuclear war ensuing for reasons of prestige, as a result of a mistake or by accident, leading to the destruction of mankind should be removed. Removing elements that are likely to lead to such a war. Peace is no longer to rest on the fear of deterrence but should be backed up by a climate of trust, co-operation and peaceful rivalry of political systems.

Deterrents made obsolete

What this would mean is that with the fear of a breaking out reduced on both sides deterrents would become superfluous and a programme of disarmament could begin. The reduction expected in American strength in 1971 is already being viewed as a result of *Ostpolitik*. It is being predicted that this could lead to complete withdrawal of American troops. The vacuum that would then arise in Western Europe would entice the Soviet Union to make an advance in the Atlantic.

It must be stated right away that although reduction in the American Forces in the Federal Republic is likely these would be quite independent of our *Ostpolitik* coming for financial and home affairs reasons within America. There is not the remotest possibility that the Americans will surrender their military presence at nuclear involvement completely. Peace is supported on two legs — a climate of trust and deterrent — and there is not even a question of shifting the weight from one to the other.

What, if anything, might drive the American to isolationism and to a renunciation of their responsibilities for the Federal Republic and Berlin? Certainly not the fact that we support the American President in his policy of "a switch from confrontation to consultation" (quoting President Nixon), but our vexation at any attempt made by this country to discard this policy might.

The demand for détente in return for reunification peaceful terms (assuming that this country has a personal interest in it) is certainly a worthy cause in Americans' national and freedom-loving motives though it does not and cannot do much of a practical nature for the German cause. Such a moral and political stance can only be risked in unavowed trust in the knowledge that the USA has not been influenced by politically speaking seem to be completely immune. Similarly neither did the fight against nuclear arms while placing secret trust on America's nuclear shield neither did the anti-America violence in Berlin secretly trusting in the generosity and calm of Americans who would not allow this to deter them in their involvement in Berlin's affairs.

Reducing the danger of a nuclear holocaust that would destroy mankind without fear or favour to either takes priority over all other equally justified political aims. The outstanding prestige that Chancellor Brandt enjoys as an expert on foreign politics in the world at large could be said to rest largely on recognition of the priorities on a national, European, international basis. Success for his *Ostpolitik* would lead to confidence in the Federal Republic and would pull the carpet from under dangerous isolationist tendencies in the United States.

2. Is the feeling for human rights becoming clouded?

POLITICS

Communism no longer so dreaded

Those who claim to understand the complex general political opinions of the nation as a whole have reckoned for some time that the present government's German and East Bloc policy is finding far more support among members of the general public than would appear to be so in the Bundestag and as a result of the recent elections for state legislatures.

If a plebiscite were held on the Brandt government's *Ostpolitik* the results would be far more encouraging for the government than the provincial assembly elections on 14 June were.

Many dyed in the wool Christian Democrat voters approve of this aspect of government policy. On the other hand there will be quite a few long-serving Social Democrat voters who would reject Brandt's *Ostpolitik*.

To prevent any misunderstanding we consider it a good thing and quite in accordance with a good thing and quite in accordance with Basic Law that there are not such plebiscites in the Federal Republic.

In their place we have public opinion polls. Recently a lot of gilt has been knocked off the pollsters' gingerbread. Nevertheless some aspects of their work continue to throw light on public feeling. This is particularly so in the case of complicated matters, simple approval or rejection or the gauging of public hopes and fears.

Opinions on Communism and on *Ostpolitik*, however irrational they may be, are therefore relatively simple to gauge. Sender Freies Berlin (West Berlin Radio) has done just this. In its current affairs programme *Kontraste* it commis-



Chancellor Brandt (in background) and State Secretary Egon Bahr whose efforts have revitalised *Ostpolitik* (Photo: J.H. Darchinger)

sioned *Infra*, public opinion pollsters, to test public reaction on the relationships between East and West. The questions were aimed at discovering public opinion on this country's relationship to the East Bloc nations including the German Democratic Republic, on the German policy of the Brandt government and on questions concerning Communism.

The results which came out at the end of 1969 indicate how aware people are in this country of problems concerning our relationship to Communist nations.

It was quickly established that more than half of the people in this country (57 per cent) are of the opinion that Communism is and will remain in the future "the greatest threat to Western democracy".

Further analysis showed that opinions differ widely on this subject between the

potential voters of the various parties and there is in fact an even greater divergence in the various social groups that make up our society.

Communism is the greatest danger for Western democracy according to 49 per cent of Social Democrat voters, 53 per cent of Free Democrat voters, 69 per cent of Christian Democrat and 86 per cent of Christian Social Union supporters.

It is striking that 66 per cent of unskilled workers consider Communism a major threat but only 31 per cent of people who have Abitur (school leaving certificate).

The survey continued by asking whether in the course of the next twenty years living conditions in West and East will grow together. Forty-nine per cent of SPD voters said yes, but only 13 per cent in the CSU camp. Whereas 68 per cent of

people with the Abitur thought it likely, skilled workers (43 per cent) and unskilled labourers (30 per cent) were largely sceptical of such a development.

Further questioning underlined these feelings towards Communism. More than half of SPD supporters and more than two thirds of CDU voters would not like to live in a communist country in any circumstances. Sixty-one per cent of unskilled labourers would not like to be "red", 63 per cent of those with *Mittlere Reife* (school diploma) found Communism unacceptable, but among those with a university education the figures were only 43 per cent.

Infra researchers discovered that in 1969 there was an increasing interest in this country's East Bloc policy. They noted a breakdown of people's defence mechanisms and a more positive attitude to the government's intention to get on better terms with communist states.

The motives for this hopes are interesting. By far the greater majority consider that this will open up new economic spheres and provide the country with new markets. This is particularly so among FDP voters (64 per cent) and least true in the CSU camp.

Secondary to this comes the hope that better relations with the East could lead to an easing of world political tension. The third reason given by people questioned in the survey was that it could make life more pleasant for people in the German Democratic Republic. The final reason given was that it might lead to a united Europe.

Interesting answers were given to question about what grounds there were for people's fears and anxieties. One question asked was whether this country by improving its contacts with the East Bloc nations would fall between two stools. Only 21 per cent feared this. Sixteen per cent thought that it could lead to this country coming under communist influence. The breakdown on this figure is 31 per cent of SPD voters, 20 per cent FDP and 21 per cent of CSU sympathisers.

Hans Helger (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 July 1970)

recognition of the Soviet hegemonial system but rather make our ratification of the individual bilateral agreements dependent on satisfactory and successful conclusions of the other remaining negotiations.

The impression that treaties between the Soviet Union and the other East Bloc countries will be included in this "unified whole" was created by a falsification in *Bild Zeitung*. In this paper when it published the Bahr paper, in point five the words "entsprechendes Abkommen" (der Bundesrepublik Deutschland) corresponding agreements "of the Federal Republic" — were omitted. By means of this alteration it was possible for *Bild Zeitung* to maintain that the Bahr paper accepted the entire Soviet hegemonial system.

4. Is it worth paying for peace with the East Bloc if the price involves polarisation within this country? In the common interest should we not renounce the new *Ostpolitik*? Whatever answer people like to give to these questions they need no discussion as long as fuel is being added to an already highly-charged climate. And this is being done by irresponsible demagogues raising cries of "sell-out", and by journalists in the popular press and in television current affairs programmes and illustrated weeklies, who do not carry out sufficient groundwork and research into the intricate problems, spreading false information, giving misleading interpretations and publishing secret documents for all to see.

The nation can only stand united behind those who clearly give priority to national interests above party political concerns. It would be a catastrophe for our democracy if the modus operandi that has become common in recent times was encouraged by political successes.

Bowing to necessity is not exactly unity but just facing the facts. In this alone lies the opportunity for us to find our way back to general agreement on foreign policy. An essential part of this would be improved public relations on the part of the government in Bonn so that without undermining the confidential nature of negotiations the man in the street would be given a good idea of the overall concept, its place in international affairs and the benefits it would bring to the nation.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 8 July 1970)

Continued from page 4.

Does détente mean coming to terms with injustices and renunciation of the right of self-determination? Would this not create a climate of cynicism with regard to values in which communist oppression is seen as different from but no worse than the Western constitutional State? Are we not robbing Freedom of its moral and political impact on the East? Are we not unproving our own tradition of freedom?

The objections contained in these questions deserve to be taken more seriously than they generally are. Even if the morals contained in them were merely abstract and of no factual value they would be justified questions as balancing forces against the purely pragmatic form of politics if they did not out these politics altogether.

The world would be a much worse place if no one expounded the idealism of morals versus politics. There is a certain pragmatic sense in a passionately conducted moral fight for human rights and this can have practical effects. For the oppressor the isolation that he could expect as a result is not without value in his political calculations. For his victims there would come encouragement and consolation in the knowledge that he has a sound backing from humane sources and his will to defend a constitutional system conducive to liberty would be strengthened.

There are three things to be taken into consideration. Firstly, the fact that anti-Communism has in the last decade been discredited to a great extent has not come about as a result of a lack of human understanding or a sense of reality but because anti-Communist arguments have been abused in order to pursue irrational policies that run contrary to détente. Only this kind of abuse has brought about a situation in which critics of Communism have had to pull their punches.

The motives for this restraint have been purely political and have not meant in any way any lessening of involvement of movements for liberty. In its effect, however, this restraint may in certain circles have actually contributed to Communism being made harmless. If *Ostpolitik* were to succeed this restraint would become unnecessary. Friendly rivalry of political systems will probably lead to human rights gaining in moral and political force rather than losing it.

Continued on page 5

■ DRAMA

State subsidised theatres lack flair and public appeal



Theatres dominate the cultural landscape in this country. Almost every town with over 100,000 inhabitants has its own municipal theatre. Even the smallest provincial towns have visits from touring companies, both commercial and state-subsidised, which perform the Classics and, more recently, contemporary plays with all the social criticism that involves.

Provincial Assemblies and the cultural authorities give large subsidies to satisfy the theatrical tastes of a small minority. Aid increases every year and amounts at present to some 400 million Marks a season.

Over 200 state-subsidised, municipal and private theatres throughout the Federal Republic open their doors to the public every evening.

They may not have exhausted the potential of those who want to act, but there are fewer and fewer people who can act.

They have exhausted the interest of theatre-goers and potential theatre-goers.

The number of theatre-goers went down by a quarter of a million in the 1967-68 season. Provisional estimates for the 1968-69 season show that there were some 100,000 fewer seats sold. Figures for the season just ending will probably reveal an even poorer attendance at theatres in the Federal Republic.

Our theatres are marketing and servicing industries as well as producers of art. That means that they must do well in selling their artistic products in spite of high subsidies.

They therefore depend on the public who pay their own respectable contribution of between five and sixty Marks per seat per performance to justify the generous public assistance as a genuine cultural necessity.

This paying public wants satisfaction. It makes its demands. But these demands remain unknown, unexamined and unanalysed.

The theatre complacently ignores audiences considering them to be an applauding, booing or passive, on the whole indifferent and homogenous mass that is incapable of deciding what it likes best and must therefore be led by the hand and told what is true entertainment, art or social criticism. The theatre director makes his own plan, which he considers logical, and brooks no compromise.

Even worse than this complacent security is the more frequent and more convenient practice of familiarity. Such theatre directors adopt the handy, though impolite belief that a large repertoire of plays will contain something for everyone.

They then carelessly serve up a higgledy-piggledy mixture of the Classics, the fashionable and the trifling. This piecemeal repertoire is a cross between routine obligation and cultivated boredom.

Clouds are slowly but surely spreading across the face of Western culture. The eternal values of the old theatre are losing their worth.

Even those theatres that try to steer an even course between tradition and modernity, edification and entertainment no longer attract the public. The stars that gave these theatres their splendour are dead and buried.

Their exclusiveness was destroyed by television and daily acquaintance with the performer's art through this medium.

All the nuances of acting, gesture, and understatement have been seen through as they are so obvious. They have lost their power to fascinate.

Can our theatre escape the Scylla and Charybdis of enlightenment and entertainment? This question of existence is not being discussed here at the moment.

And so our theatre continually reproduces itself. Attempts to renew it by adopting a political repertoire, including plays calculated to shock or making internal organisation more democratic only to delay the urgent changes to the whole structure of our theatre system.

This system functions so perfectly and appears so solvent that it can occasionally afford the luxury of producing its own refutation.

These are performances of extreme aesthetic and political power that are made in opposition to the dominating rules of production and therefore against consumers too.

But the number of these refutations is decreasing alarmingly. Among the ten most interesting performances of the season selected by a jury and invited to the Berlin Theatre Gathering, there were only two productions that were thought to have any outstanding quality by the audiences and critics who did not belong to the jury.

Only two works in one season from more than 2,000 productions have outstanding qualities. This is a depressing situation.

The objection that the jury could have arrived at a better selection without so many flops only confirms that dramatic criticism in this country is in a desolate state.

But is does not hide the fact that our theatre cannot produce anything of great aesthetic importance or striking social significance and is not even able to humour its regular subscribers, or the consumer class as it complacently considers it. What is the solution?

Actors, directors and producers demand more participation within the system. A share in decision-making is the current slogan.

They want to limit the sphere of responsibility

enjoyed by the theatre manager and have a more democratic organisation on the artistic side of the theatre.

They call themselves "theatre producers" without realising that this term as they use it would include the playwright, technicians, the administration and, last but not least, the audience.

Theatre does not merely mean that producers in the strict theatrical sense produce productions and that actors produce themselves.

It is the two-way effect between performance and audience. Theatre does not happen because people show something or only themselves but because several people want to participate.

Although they act as though they are progressive, our theatre producers mark time. For them democratisation is simply creating even more private privileges for themselves in the privileged system of the subsidised theatre.

Instead of being subject to the omnipotence of the theatre manager and the dominance of the producer, they want to be involved in decisions on who is to fill the post of manager, on what plays are to be performed and on what the idea behind the production is to be. They no longer want to be responsible for their own role alone.

In practice it has its disadvantages. The young star actor Michael König was engaged to take part in the premiere of Martin Walser's *Kinderspiel*. But after a few days rehearsing he found that the play did not conform to his political ideals.

He said that he no longer wanted the part and withdrew. The premiere had to be abandoned and the theatre had to bring forward another play, with all the difficulties that involved, to satisfy its regular subscribers who already had tickets for the evening.

If this falsely understood conscientious objection becomes the fashion and one actor leaves the cast because he finds the play too reactionary and, the next day, an actress drops out because it is too anarchistic, audiences will be able to consider themselves lucky if they get to see

at least one or two premieres a year; theatre that receives six million Mark year in subsidies.

Even the most patient patron was soon come to the conclusion that they could manage on a far lower subsidy; the number of new works were as a result curtailed.

The dilemma is obvious. Our theatres and audiences are going in different directions. A new audience cannot be anywhere.

But the machinery of production, top gear and the authorities are paying the hectoring turning theatre round even if it is running idle.

Devotion to culture is most commonly demonstrated by going to the theatre. It is a well functioning safety valve provides alibis.

The necessary changes, campaigns, revolts and revolutions are consumed via the theatre and, what is the audience is used to the acted on. The publically subsidised theatres thus deadens the desire for the theatre.

The number of feudal theatres has increased from year to year but the dance figures decline in inverse proportion to the available seating accommodation.

Educational theatre, plays meant to shock, scenic agitation and subtle dissonance are all equally boring. They turn to an audience that is not so much so indistinguishable as is blindly used. Material must give them better information and be more direct.

Our theatrical landscape is even without tension. There are no stars. Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, Cologne, Frankfurt, Hanover, Bochum, Mainz, Kassel, Detmold, Bruchsal and Tübingen are interchangeable. The landscape appears into arbitrariness and emptiness.

What can the touring rural theatres, the medium-size municipal theatres, Off-the-pole suits made to measure, unproductive luxuries.

But are the small provincial theatres brooding ground for future actors and actresses? They are expensive and where talent is no longer encouraged, humdrum performers mass-produced.

What we need are theatre ensembles that can specialise on one particular section of the public.

A repertoire shared out between Classics, modernists and the trifling provincial theatre of feudal days, it is passed.

(CHRIST UND WELT, 10 May 1970)

'Richard III' and 'Amphitryon' open Bad Hersfeld festival

William Shakespeare's *Richard III* and Peter Hacks' *Amphitryon* opened the twentieth Bad Hersfeld Festival this year. The one work was the cynical power game of an uninhibited person and the other a bitter comedy of the no less cynical game of gods with men.

Reinhold K. Olzewski of Buenos Aires had already been responsible for some effective productions: in the monastery ruins here before turning to *Richard III*, his first production of the Classics in Bad Hersfeld.

His control of the extras was superbly effective and he organised the space between nave and choir by using it as part of the scene.

But the play slipped from his grasp at the same time as Hans Korte in the lead role did.

Shakespeare's *Richard* used his superior intelligence to play with men. Korte played with his role, lost all contact with the other actors, isolated himself and so only showed the audience the actor's art.

He did this like a virtuoso, in great detail and with plenty of gags. But his *Richard* resembled a small-time trickster taking his chances as they came along.

Korte appeared as a "coarse comedian" enjoying *Richard*'s talents of controlling his fellow-men. And the figure lost weight.

Not even actors like Hans-Gerd Kübel as Buckingham and Hansgeorg Laubenthal as Hastings came to life in this production.

With Heinz Ludwig's colourful costumes, the whole production was aimed at effect. The execution scenes that do not occur on stage in the original involuntarily took on comic features.

Volker Lechtenbrink and Fritz Nydegger as the two hired murderers deserve special praise for their joviality.

Günther Fleckenstein's production of Peter Hacks' *Amphitryon* followed on the second evening. This work, premiered in Göttingen in February 1968, is an independent variation of the old Greek myth.

Jupiter, the head of the gods, descends to a beautiful mortal and sires a son who is human but whose name Hercules will immortalise by his deeds.

It is a clearly constructed, amusing play that impresses through its colourful logic. The third and last act is a comedy of action but Hacks here mimes on the existence in this world of our own certain charm and wit.

Towards the end of the play, Hacks consoles *Amphitryon* with the words: "The realisation that he is not yet human makes the human more human."

In his production in the Munich City theatre in 1969 Fleckenstein had the play in a bare circus arena surrounded by the opulent rococo of the actual stage.

In Bad Hersfeld he dispensed with scenery. Only *Amphitryon*'s ship was hinted at with a railing and a mast.

On other occasions Fleckenstein has on Hacks' own power of expression and effect of the large playing area and acting abilities of the performers.

He was successful. The production of a high standard. Fleckenstein himself the one who deserves the laurels. He taken the decisive step of making actors speak painstakingly and accurately.

(Kleiner Nachrichten, 8 July 1970)

■ THINGS SEEN

Gothic art exhibitions at Cologne and Karlsruhe



Once again the Rhineland has been able to prove that as an artistic area of the world it is highly integrated.

Those who are taking a summer holiday in the Rhineland can see this for themselves at two outstanding exhibitions, one successfully neutralised by banks in Cologne and the other in Karlsruhe. The publically subsidised theatres thus deadens the desire for the theatre.

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(CHRIST UND WELT, 10 May 1970)

illustrations, Hans Baldung Grien's high altar in Freiburg, Matthias Grünewald's Isenheim altar in Colmar and the works of Konrad Witz and Hans Holbein the Elder - a concentration of artistic genius in the area between Basel, Strasbourg and Freiburg in the years immediately before and after 1500.

So great was the output of this period in this area that it is easy to see that an exhibition of late Gothic painting would be almost impossible to organise.

The Baden state museum in Karlsruhe was therefore only being realistic when it decided that the exhibition *Spätgotik am Oberrhein* should be limited to sculpture, handicrafts and a few small sketches.

The result is that the museum has created an exhibition that succeeds in giving a clear idea of the most important aspects in the development of art in the late Gothic and early Renaissance periods such as has never been seen before.

Four hundred and sixty-five works are on loan to the museum from all over western Europe and the United States.

The style of art that was created in this area at this time was more than just late Gothic - it signified a whole change in people's outlook on life at a time when revolutionary changes were rife.

For the first time it was cities and not royal courts, churches and monasteries that were the centres of art production. This was by no means just coincidental.

The art that began to make its appearance around 1430 was a bourgeois art, a city art.

This art still kept the basic impulses and inspirations of early Gothic, particularly religious subjects, but it was already finding inspiration in other great masters.

One of the most important centres of this art was Strasbourg. The city had the Dutchman Nicolaus Gernert within its walls for four years.

For the people of Cologne a great attraction is the *Ursula Martyrium* which has been lent by the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. The background to this picture shows the city of Cologne in the late medieval times. This is the most exact picture known of Cologne as it was at this time.

The period 1450 to 1530 is well covered by the exhibition. There are some fine examples of stained glass from this epoch and even the Cathedral in Cologne has lent some specimens to the exhibition.

From this there are implements, coins, furniture, stoneware, gold-work, tapestries from the archery groups of the time, seals, sketches and written and printed books.

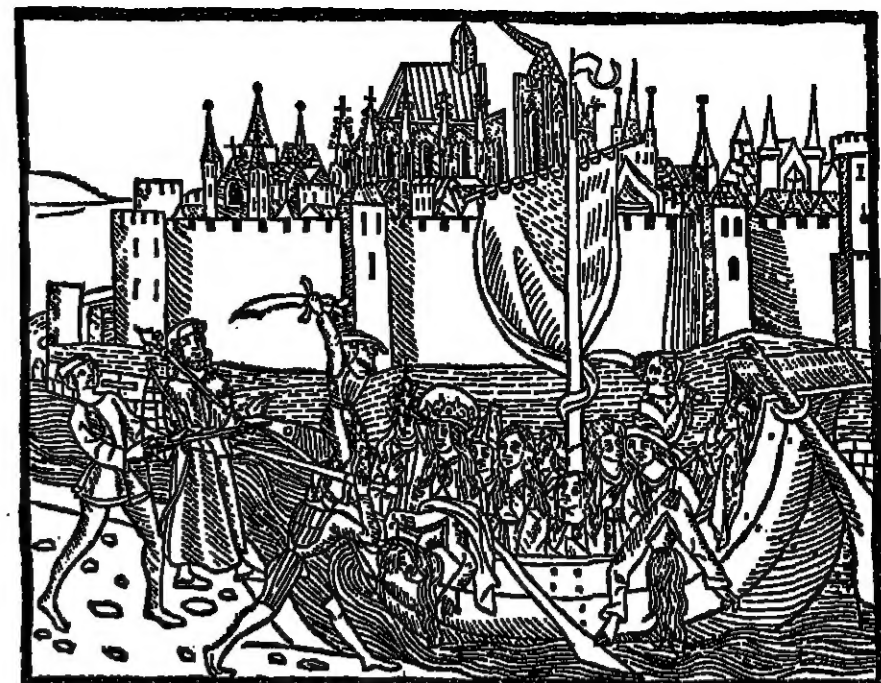
Even music is not omitted. Music by Guillaume Dufay is offered to visitors on record along with the exhibition catalogue.

The curator of Cologne museums, Gert von der Osten, considers this exhibition, whose patron is the International Museum Committee (ICOM), as an event of great importance for Cologne.

The exhibition closes on 27 September.

(W. Schulze-Reinpell)

The windows and worldwide importance of the late Gothic period on the Upper Rhine were set by its painters. There were Martin Schongauer's great frescoes, Albrecht Dürer's early



Cologne in 1499 in an extract from 'The Martyrdom of Saint Ursula' lent by the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Photo: Katalog)

This is a comparatively short space of time, but it was sufficient to give the plastic arts in the Upper Rhine area and later on in Vienna a new, decisive and long-lasting impulse.

Looking at Gerhaert's figures, done in Strasbourg amid all the other Madonnas, saints and crucifixions it becomes clear what revolutionary changes he wrought.

He specialised in busts and this typifies his art. But what is even more decisive in the fascinating expressiveness of the faces he sculpted.

Among those influenced by Gerhaert were Heinrich Iselin who turned this influence into eccentric and precious effects, and Hans Wydyz, who is thought to have come from Meissen, but who did his greatest work in Freiburg and Strasbourg and emphasised the more attractive and ornamental side of Gerhaert's work.

Another follower of Gerhaert, Nicolaus Hagenow from Strasbourg, worked on the portrait-like features stretching them almost to the point of caricature.

But the perfection of late Gothic art was achieved by an artist who even today is still unidentified and known only as

Meister H.L. It is thought that he came from Austria or at least worked there at some time.

He created his most important pieces in Breisgau including the *Adam and Eve* group that is still a source of many disputes about origin and shows signs of the approaching Renaissance and the Breisach and Niederrotweiler altars.

These are examples of that last and most extreme development that is sometimes rather unfortunately dubbed "Barockgotik".

This style is filled with complicated intertwining forms and shows incompatible dynamism of movement and counter-movement.

Amid all these works of a century, which are described in detail by the catalogue we should not forget the many examples of craftsmanship from this period on show in Karlsruhe - the chalices and crucifixes created by the goldsmiths, the coins and seals and above all the enchanting tapestries.

The exhibition in Karlsruhe continues until 5 October.

(DIE WELT, 8 July 1970)

Cultural exchanges are essential part of development aid

Another unusual accent will be given to the Ruhr Culture Festival in Recklinghausen as it enters its final phase. The festival is to be visited by 130 dancers and musicians from India, Thailand, Pakistan and Indonesia.

This "Encounter with Asia" has been made possible by political and financial backing from the Federal Ministry of Development Aid, which is for the first time making a concrete gesture towards the cultural side of development aid programmes.

Development Aid Minister Erhard Eppler is holding a reception in the foyer of the Festspielhaus on 10 July in connection with the appearance of the Kathakali dance troupe from India.

Herr Eppler considers this programme an important part of his plans to correct the former misconception that economic growth is the sole criterion of a successful development aid programme.

Certainly improved economic figures say a lot for the development of a young country, but the overall plan of aid to Third World countries is to help them

develop a society capable of surviving on its own.

Part of this concept must necessarily be a mutual understanding by both the giving and receiving country of customs and traditions in the culture of both countries.

In this respect Erhard Eppler's Ministry is in agreement with the outline of foreign culture policies sketched by Ralf Dahrendorf.

An attempt is being made at Recklinghausen to show a representative selection of the many aspects of traditional Asian art. No one is pretending that this festival could do justice to all the many aspects.

Apart from the State-organised representatives there are private groups such as the dance group from Bali. This group had to be forced to accept payment. They plan to use their fee to build a school.

This "Encounter with Asia" is not confined to the song and dance evenings of the final week of the festival. Aspects of it have permeated the whole of the Ruhr Festival.

There has been an exhibition of travel photographs by Karl Pawek, entitled

"Asia - tradition and progress" on show at Recklinghausen.

The science week was organised along the lines: "On the way to a unified world". This was devoted mainly to questions concerning Asia. This exhibition was opened by Heinz Kühn, who stressed the conflict between North and South in the world, which is a threat to peace and symbolises "the transformation of class warfare".

In addition to this there have been film seminars. A heated discussion ensued about the image of Asia presented by television programmes about it shown in the West.

Filipinos, who are among the top jazz musicians in Asia, will perform their kind of music along with Federal Republic colleagues at the seventeenth Norddeutscher Rundfunk (NDR television) Jazz Workshop.

The many programmes put on at Recklinghausen are designed to show that development aid can only flourish when it involves cultural exchanges and these are prevented from getting into a one-way rut.

Time will tell how successful the Ruhr Culture Festival at Recklinghausen has been in putting across this message to industrialised nations and Third World countries alike and just who has heeded the message.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 8. Juli 1970)

EDUCATION

Streamed pupils show marked learning improvement with new teaching method

Teachers face completely new problems caused both by the immediate post-war bulge and the fact that attending high school is no longer the privilege of the specially talented.

Two teachers from Göttingen dealt with the problem of how to treat a large mass of pupils fairly.

Peter Seidensticker and Gerhard Gerling wrote a book entitled *Have Grammar Schools still a Chance?* which reveals the direction in which they are aiming.

Of course they give grammar schools a chance, always providing that they prove adaptable in the face of new requirements.

As a total reform would demand a long time span to be put into practice as well as extra money and personnel (that are lacking), they looked for a solution that would be of immediate and effective help.

The two teachers then began to test the methodic differentiation proposed in their book in their own particular spheres. Gerling is a scientist and Seidensticker a linguist.

Peter Seidensticker based his work on the conviction that school years should be arranged into streams based on talent and performance as soon as possible, though not over-hastily.

He and three colleagues taught English to the first form. During this year the pupils could be closely observed so that they were then correctly streamed into four classes — group A for the best, group B for those with good performances, group C for the satisfactory and group D, the weakest class.

The four teachers were in constant contact with one another and taught the same material in the four groups, but in different ways so that every pupil in every group would respond.

By the end of the school year all pupils had reached the standard set for their group. Those who had shown no interest in the subject before responded to the material while the most talented were not bored by constant repetition of various groups of questions.

Performance often drops during middle school years. It was therefore a special challenge for Gerhard Gerling to test the new method on the fourth form. Together with two mathematics teachers he re-organised three classes totalling 92 girl pupils into three groups based on standard.

After a short time it was plain that private study by girls in groups A and B was increasing. Teachers too liked the new method as it relieved them of the difficulty of having to teach an amorphous mass with a uniform method.

The success described by Gerling also appears convincing to non-mathematicians when they learn that the theorems of Pythagoras and Euclid were treated differently in the three groups.

Group A worked out several methods of their own to prove the theorems while group C learnt and understood the simplest proof.

After six months of teaching, the three mathematics teachers saw with satisfaction that 47 per cent of their girls had improved their standard by at least one grade. At

the end of the year the figure had risen to 52.2 per cent.

Under the traditional method practised the previous year the fourth-form improvement figure was no higher than 15.5 per cent while 34 per cent of the girls had declined in standard.

When using the system of methodic differentiation only 17.6 per cent declined in standard, an unusually low figure for the middle school levels.

At first parents viewed the experiment with some scepticism, but then saw that they did not need to help their daughters with their homework.

The poorer girls became far more self-confident than they had been before. Despite the division in groups of varying standard the girls did not feel humiliated in any way as they could develop within the groups and there was always the stimulus of rising to a higher group if their performances improved.

A survey revealed that eighty per cent of the girls found this type of teaching to be more advantageous. 89.1 per cent wanted to see methodic differentiation extended to other subjects as the wish for individual treatment was stronger than the connection to a school-year that was not so firm as had been believed previously.

A decisive factor in the success of this type of teaching was the change in attitude of the pupils. They had become more interested in the work at hand.

With this experimental teaching method that is so easy to implement Seidensticker and Gerling seem to have found a method that other teachers can use if their schools are large enough for dividing a school year into at least three groups.

One important condition for success is a coordinated timetable so that one teacher can take two groups at the same time if one of his colleagues is ill. This means that no valuable time is lost.

The method tested in Göttingen showed gratifying results without greater use of additional personnel, even though the individual teachers were asked to work a little more intensively. An hour a week was long enough for conferences between the teachers.

The Seidensticker-Gerling method does not involve any additional expense by the State.

Parents too are happy, as they now need to give little help with homework and their children are no longer threatened with repeating a whole year.

(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 4 July 1970)

States gradually ban corporal punishment in schools

Thick files have accumulated in the Bavarian Archives over the twenty-five years concerning corporal punishment.

These include a statement from the Bavarian Provincial Assembly recorded April 1965: "During Question Time Social Democrat member Horst told the Provincial Assembly of the of an elementary school teacher.

punished 28 boys and girls last year by caning their bottoms and hitting the face and about the head with a hand, mainly because of poor school performance. One boy's nose bled and other had to visit the doctor."

State-sanctioned bodily harm, as *Abendzeitung* put it, is now to be abolished in Bavaria's elementary schools. Education Minister Ludwig Huber has said that corporal punishment will be abolished from the beginning of the 1970-71 school year.

Hesse and Berlin had forbidden corporal punishment a long time ago. Other Federal states to have abolished it recently are Baden-Württemberg, Rhineland-Palatinate, Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg.

Regulations on corporal punishment have been modified in other Federal states.

Bavaria had led all Federal states, except Hesse, on this issue. The day now made is a belated victory for the Social Democrat Education Minister R. Fendt who banned corporal punishment in June 1946.

But a year later Education Minister Alois Hundhammer, a member of the Christian Social Union (CSU) and a moralist, restored corporal punishment.

Twelve merry years of caning ended the land of the Bavarians before the regulations in 1959 abolished corporal punishment for boys and girls in the two classes and stated that corporal punishment was justified only when other measures and punishments failed.

This was considered to be a great forward and progressives were excited with the fine phrase that the abolition of corporal punishment was to be pursued as an educational aim.

Eleven more years of caning passed in Bavaria. Corporal punishment provoked increasing political discussion. Social Democrats, the trades unions, the Humanist Union and parents' associations repeatedly demanded its complete abolition.

The CSU and the Bavarian Teachers Association wanted to retain corporal punishment as long as possible.

A stir was caused in 1964 by the *Caning Report* of Munich psychologist and educationalist Professor Lickert, said that some eighty per cent of pupils in the upper classes of Bavarian elementary schools get the cane or stick from the teacher at one time or another.

Not all pupils need fear corporal punishment. Teachers may hit their pupils in elementary, though not in secondary schools.

This state of affairs — "Official policy in Bavaria considers corporal punishment to be suitable in elementary schools" — prompted Social Democrat member of the Provincial Assembly to new action in March 1969.

Five months before the next election to the Provincial Assembly the CSU Education Minister has decided that corporal punishment is the best means of defence.

24 years after corporal punishment was first abolished in Bavaria, Huber has now decided that it is now time to abolish it. *Kilian Gieseler* (DIE ZEIT, 10 July 1970)

SCIENCE

Proteins and professors more important than protest at Lindau congress

Some students tried to make the twelfth Nobel Prize winners' Congress at Lindau, the seventh to be devoted to chemistry, into a platform for left-wing views and invited the participants, including prizewinners, to a political discussion.

This attempt, made after a lecture, failed. Young and old students and scientists preferred to discuss the structure of insulin with Oxford Professor and Nobel Prize winner Dorothy Crowfoot Hodgkin. Her lecture on the subject immediately before had been a fascinating mixture of majestic expertise and personal charm.

The audience's reaction to the students' move underlined the purpose of these congresses more plainly than any words could.

Looking back on twenty years of congresses at Lindau during the opening ceremony, Professor Werner Forssmann said that they planned to present Nobel Prize winners not only as examples for coming academic generations but also as people with all their strengths and weaknesses.

They were also planned to show how Nobel Prize winners worked, what they worked on and how they had got their ideas.

Modern chemistry has long passed the stage of using relatively crude methods and yardsticks to register reactions occurring between more or less fixed original and final states.

Like physics, it tries to investigate details more thoroughly and learn about all the processes that occur during reactions of this type.

This was demonstrated by a whole series of lectures at Lindau. Making the content of some of these lectures under-



standable to the layman would have been a vain task.

Professor Robert S. Mulliken of Chicago, for instance, spoke of recent studies of iodine molecules. Professor Nikolai N. Semenov of Moscow lectured on chemical chain reactions with energetic ramifications and Professor Lars Onsager of New Haven, Connecticut, dealt with proton semi-conductors.

Professor Ronald G.W. Norrish of Cambridge gave a lecture on investigations into some organic photochemical reactions with the help to kinetic spectroscopy.

Professor George Porter enlarged upon this subject in one of the most scientifically and rhetorically brilliant talks ever to have been given at a Lindau congress.

He spoke about chemistry in the nano-second range, the study of those chemical changes and interim amalgamations that occur for a fraction of a second during the course of a chemical reaction.

With the help of flashes of light from pulsating lasers and absorption spectroscopy, "light" has already reached such stages of reaction that can only be measured in nano-seconds (one thousand millionths of a second). It can already be forecast that chemistry will also master time spans as short as one billionth of a second.

Professor Harold O. Urey's report on evidence concerning the moon's structure

was of extremely topical importance. He said that it was a firmly established fact that the moon's surface was completely different 4,600 million years ago.

3,650 million years ago there must have been a melting process with the source of heat outside of the moon.

Only after the moon had once again become solid did collisions with meteorites and comets leave traces on the moon's surface that can be seen today in the form of seas and craters that puzzled science for such a long time.

We know today that the moon is 4,600 million years old but we do not know whether this makes it older or younger than the Earth.

Professor Richard L.M. Sygne spoke of proteins and poisons in plants and, in this context, of the role played by these poisons in the self protection of many plants against aggression from the animal world.

He thought of breeding crops with genetic changes so that they grew poisonous and therefore resistant to pests. These poisons could then be made safe for human consumption by the normal means of preparation. This already occurs with many leguminous plants.

Sygne therefore agreed with Count Lennart Bernadotte, the patron of the Lindau Nobel Prize winners' Congresses.

Count Bernadotte had demanded an end to the indiscriminate pollution and destruction of the human environment, an appeal compatible with the great humanitarian aim of all scientific efforts toward a better existence for mankind.

Karl-Helm Ebert (Handelsblatt, 5 July 1970)

X-rays to be used to reduce gnat population

Along the banks of the Upper Rhine the annual plague of gnats from the many pools, ponds and backwaters is once again tormenting inhabitants of all the towns between Basle in the south and Mainz in the north.

It has almost reached catastrophe proportions this year after the floods in May. Locals say that there have never been so many gnats around and scientific observations support them.

Alsace and the Federal states of Baden-Württemberg, Hesse and Rhineland-Palatinate all suffer.

Neither chemicals nor questions in the Provincial Assemblies have yet succeeded in driving the gnats out of their native pools.

The three Federal states have now agreed on a new secret weapon. Professor Hanns Laven of Mainz University's genetics department has been given an initial budget of 100,000 Marks to stamp out the gnats genetically.

The fame of Professor Laven has spread from Okpo, a Burmese village, to the southwest of the Federal Republic. In his first large-scale experiment Laven had taken only eight weeks to exterminate the whole insect population of Okpo, a village surrounded by grassland.

He had let several thousand male gnats bred in his own laboratory loose on the native female gnats of the *Culex fatigans* variety.

His own strain was more powerful than males of the *Culex fatigans* variety and mated with the females. There were no offspring.

Professor Laven will use a similar method along the Upper Rhine.

It consists of semi-stilisation. The gnats will be treated with X-rays so that they continue to live but their offspring will only be fit for a limited existence.

(DIE WELT, 7 July 1970)

VW Foundation donates 9 million Marks to Freiburg University



The Volkswagen Foundation is to donate nine million Marks to finance the setting up of a department for mathematics at Freiburg University.

Darmstadt Technical University is to receive a chair for mathematics, Bochum University a chair for physics and Tübingen University a chair for chemistry and one for biology.

The Volkswagen Foundation is donating 125 million Marks for each of these new departments.

The establishment of new departments for scientific education is connected with the Volkswagen Foundation's support for training mathematicians and scientists for teaching at high schools.

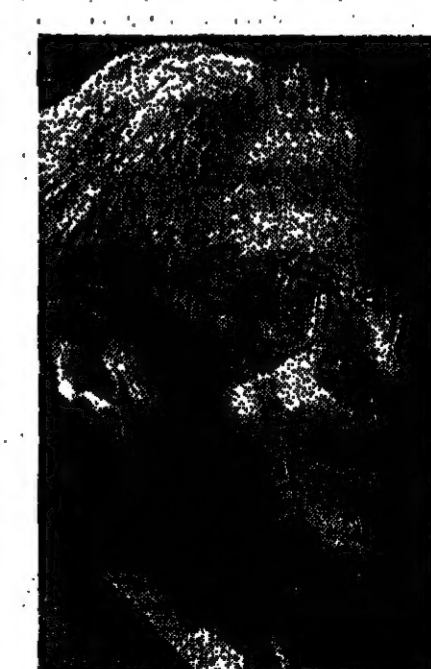
75 million Marks have so far been set aside for this purpose. 5,400 students and teachers on probation have received grants from this sum.

The Foundation not only plans to increase the number of teachers but also wants to contribute to an improved, more physical training of prospective teachers.

Teaching and research done at these new educational departments will show what findings, ways of thinking and methods must be considered for high school teaching.

(DIE WELT, 5 July 1970)

Ernst Bloch celebrates his eighty-fifth birthday



(Photo: dpa)

He was welcomed by the Ulbricht regime with open arms. He had after all defended the Stalinist show trials while in the United States.

But he soon came into conflict with socialist reality. When the third volume of his main work *The Principle of Hope* appeared in 1959 — it was withdrawn not long afterwards — Bloch was finally at-

tacked by hard-line ideologists who accused the philosopher of not seeing his visions of human freedom realised in the German Democratic Republic. His work was dismissed out of hand as "religion".

Indeed there is a religious feature in Bloch's philosophy as relieved estrangement of mankind is only presented as a vision.

Bloch always has the concrete aim taken over from Karl Marx: "The naturalisation of humanity and the humanisation of nature" but Bloch can only conceive of this aim in the past, in the outstanding products of the human intellect.

He was an expert on the history of the human mind and not only in the West. Bloch's views of these products are fascinating. One example is when he sees his ideas on crossing the boundaries toward knowledge embodied in Goethe's *Faust*.

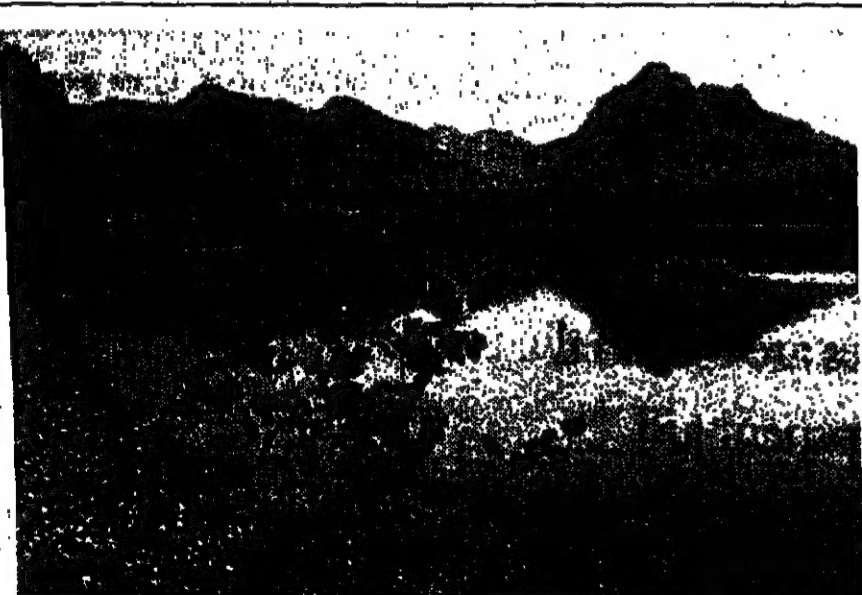
But this strength of Bloch's that makes *The Principle of Hope* into a dialectically interpreted compendium of the development of the mind, that frees Hegel from the illusion of representing the world spirit and gives him a decisive position in the established self-identity in depth is at the same time his weakness.

Its Utopian aim of a better human condition is incontestable but in its concrete form and under existing conditions it must remain vulnerable.

Friedrich Heer once said of Bloch that he was the philosopher of the German revolution that had never taken place.

No revolution can be carried out by following Bloch. This old patriarch is no father figure for young revolutionaries and no guarantor of restorative tendencies. He is part of that principle of hope he wrote about.

Ulrich Schreiber (Handelsblatt, 5 July 1970)



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Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Die Welt, 2 July 1970

■ THE ECONOMY

The rights and wrongs of controlling the economy with tax measures



No one is particularly keen to pay out good money without getting something tangible in return. So many people are a little perturbed to hear from the tax officials that they will now have to pay a ten per cent supplement on their income tax.

They are asking angrily why they have to pay more when their taxes are quite high enough already. They cannot see why they are having to suffer just because the government did not step in quickly enough and stop the inflationary trends in the economy in good time.

In fact this repayable tax supplement, like the measures imposed by the Bundesbank, punishes the innocent so that the guilty shall not escape punishment. There is no way of sorting out the sheep from the goats.

It is also an unmistakable fact that middle-sized concerns will be harder hit by the new measures than the industrial giants.

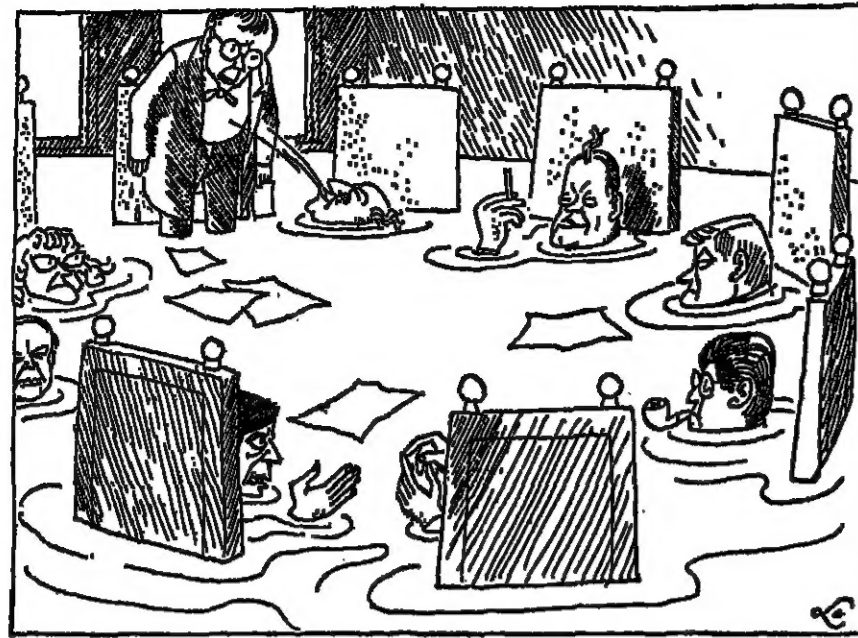
Similarly employees in the medium wage ranges are most severely affected. They have been affected by the sharp progression in day rates which has bled them, and now they have to pay the three per cent supplementary levy on income tax and in addition the ten per cent repayable levy.

Lower income earners are spared both of these levies. Certainly this is justifiable in social terms, but it does mean the intended effect of cutting down the public's purchasing power is somewhat weakened. Only by subjecting all income groups to supplementary levies could there be a one hundred per cent effective cut in spending.

What is likely to have an even more disastrous effect on the economy however is the fact that 2,600 million Marks of public money, which was tied up for the first half of this year is now free for the government to spend.

Some people may be of the opinion that the government could be pardoned for spending this money, which will go largely for transport and defence. The fact is, however, that when this money becomes liquid and is spent by the government this will more than match the cuts in the public's spending power brought about by the tough new economic measures.

So there can be talk of slamming the brakes on spending by means of harsh new taxes!



Cabinet discusses economic problems

(Cartoon: E.M. Lang/Süddeutsche Zeitung)

As a general rule controlling the economy by means of fiscal measures is a doubtful procedure and open to suspicion. Many finance wizards are not in favour of it.

For instance Professor Haller, who is State Secretary in the Bonn Finance Ministry, is of the opinion that "such measures are really only justified when other ways of cutting down overall demand fail."

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung has always been opposed to government's using fiscal measures to cut spending before the complete arsenal of weapons at the disposal of the Bundesbank has been tried.

Now, however, with Bank Rate at a giddy height of 7.5 per cent and the recent raising of the minimum reserves the Bundesbank would appear to be at the end of its tether.

Anything that the Bundesbank tried to do now could not help but push up Bank Rate even higher. As a result of this money would come flooding in from abroad and efforts to check runaway inflation, which are directed at keeping the level of liquid cash as low as possible could be undermined.

In a situation such as this there is nothing else to do but support the Bundesbank in the efforts it has so far made virtually single-handed in order to check the economic boom. These efforts should be backed up with fiscal measures.

One of the most powerful weapons would be a drastic cut in government spending.

A noticeable cut in general demand would quickly cool down the economic climate. On the other hand the tax measures that the government has introduced will need some time to take effect.

In addition to this there is the danger that industry will try to make good the liquidity of which it has been robbed by higher taxes by claiming more credit.

Likewise there will be members of the general public who are not prepared to cut their spending despite the higher burden of taxation. They will make good the loss by going to the bank and plundering their deposit accounts.

In both these cases the goal at which higher taxation is aimed will be thwarted and the desired effect on the economy will not be achieved.

On the other hand the high level of interest at the moment is a temptation for people to leave their savings on deposit, and for industrialists to limit the amount of money they borrow.

Faced with circumstances such as these it would be quite mad for the Bundesbank to lower Bank Rate at the present moment as many people are obviously hoping will be done, and introducing a lower interest level. There is not the slightest justification for such measures.

A tight rein must be kept so that industrial concerns are prevented as far as possible from passing off additional tax burdens in the form of higher prices.

Likewise trade unions must be discouraged from helping their members to cope with higher taxes by demanding further wage increases.

In addition to this it should be added that industrial concerns and trade unions alike have no grounds for increased prices and increased wage demands, since the new tax supplement is not a definitive measure but simply a temporary one. The supplement will be paid back in time.

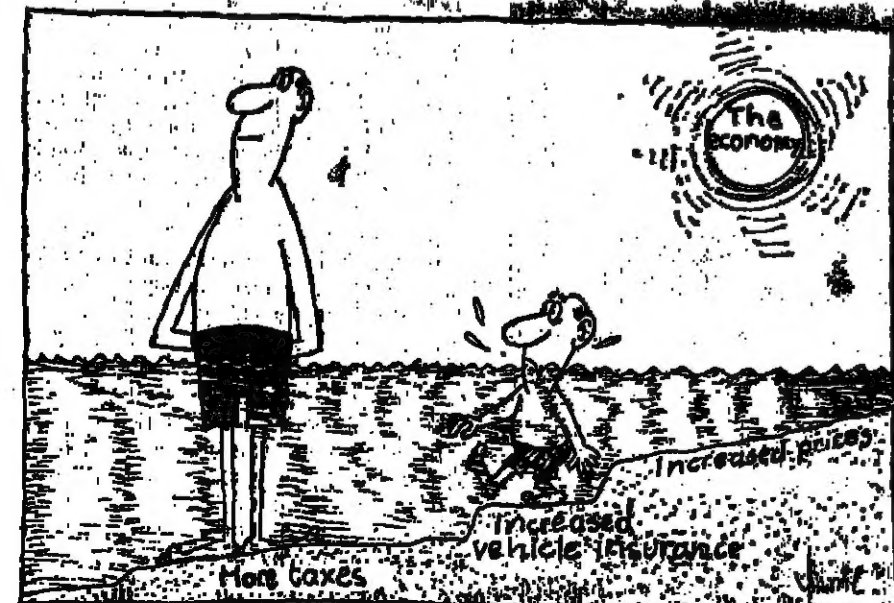
Now that the Bundesbank has done its bit to help get the economy back on its feet and the government has made a contribution, albeit an imperfect one, industrialists, trade unions and consumers must in their turn help this country in its fight against depreciation by taking responsible attitudes.

The alternative is utter disaster.

Hans Roepers
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
St. Gallen, 10 July 1970

The long and the short

(Cartoon: Felix Musch/Frankfurter Rundschau)



Industry's comment on latest Bonn economic measures

Economists are welcoming the measures being taken by the government long last to try to regain control of the economy even though they consider the measures extremely belated.

One or two points of the government programme are being criticised by the with vested interests. Above all the y to withdraw temporarily the tax rate on industrial investments (degressive depreciation) is coming in for attack.

The Confederation of Federal Republic Employers' Associations is of the opinion that the limitation of allowances on depreciation will rob the economy of an opportunity of making sufficient investments aimed at rationalisation.

It is precisely investments of this kind that are required if productivity is to be increased and some compensation paid for spiralling wage costs.

The Confederation has appealed to trade unions to draw their own conclusions from the decisions made in Bonn and steer a course in their wages policy that is "neutral in its effect on the economy and on prices".

In one statement made by the Federal Republic Employers' Association it says: "Nobody would understand it if the sides of industry, workers and employers did not do everything possible to rise to a rational wages and salaries policy."

Electricity supply concerns consider themselves particularly hard hit by a government's decision on degressive depreciation. They cannot cut down the amount spent on capital investment, as they are required by law to keep supplies sufficient to match demand.

This means in this industry without these allowances loses all its interest effect and only creates financial difficulties for the industry.

There is general approval of the measures announced by the Cabinet in connection with credit. The Federal Republic savings and giro bank association calls these measures late, but better late than never.

On the other hand the Confederation of Federal Republic Banks regrets interference in decisions concerning investments which are so important for economic growth.

The repayable surcharge on income would be more effective without the suspended social welfare clause and the bankers have called on both sides of industry to seize their last chance to make a stand.

The national banks have called for a speedy relaxation of restrictive credit policies so that the economy will not be too hard hit by Bonn's proposals.

A fair degree of approval was registered by the Central Union of Federal Republic Craftsmen. All in all the complete package of economic measures seems well suited to create stabilising effects. But the craftsmen too have come out in favour of lowering interest rates in the near future.

The Building Trade Union is particularly keen to see a lower Bank Rate. The metal trade employers' union (Gesamtmittel) has stated that as a result of wage increases, longer holidays, and tariff agreements and several measures introduced to help metalworkers boost their capital, employees in the metalworking industry have enjoyed an above average improvement in their standard of living in the past two years.

There can be no question of metalworkers having "something to catch up on the rest of industry."

The Federal Republic White-Collar Workers' Trade Union has condemned the government's "tax in advance" measure, saying that it is not a suitable way of regaining price stability.

(DIE WELT, 9 July 1970)

■ BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

No easy way to the top, says Europe's top personnel adviser

Patent recipes for a career just do not exist. This is a point made again and again by Gerhard Kienbaum, head of the largest personnel advice organisation in Europe.

But with his many years of experience Kienbaum can obviously give a few guidelines. He lays the main stress on preserving specific duties and responsibilities. This seems to him to be the best way to achieve success.

Gerhard Kienbaum is all for the American idea of training on the job, although he makes a few modifications. This means giving personnel training for specific duties.

A period as a trainee in a gigantic organisation such as AEG, Siemens or Unilever seems to him to be time wasted particularly for someone who will be working in a medium-sized concern or a family firm.

Is there in fact an ideal course for a career to take? Are there specific platforms from which the leap into a top managerial position is easy?

Kienbaum says no. "This idea contradicts the basic fact that we live in a society that is constantly changing. These changes mean that the route to a top position in management is constantly changing."

"One thing that is certainly a myth is the idea that there is ever a platform from which an easy leap into a top job can be made. Getting to the top is always a long, hard climb."

Accordingly Gerhard Kienbaum does not lay great importance on the field of study that a trainee chooses.

He said: "To become a leader in industry there are two requirements. A man must have the ability to analyse problems. To be able to analyse problems he must be well acquainted with specific techniques, yardsticks and criteria."

"On the other hand it is vital that a trainee should have had some practical training for his duties and responsibilities. These two factors are essential for any position in leadership, no matter how high up the ladder of power it may be."

Training in the analysis of problems is given at all levels, however. And so Kienbaum sees no reason why schooling in German studies or theology, for instance, should not be regarded as a sound basis for a top managerial position.

He added by way of explanation: "I really do believe that when talking of top managerial positions we should not confine our ideas to leading roles in industry and other concerns."

"I consider that managerial training can be useful in running all kinds of organisations - universities for instance. This sort of position can make higher demands of managerial training schemes than the classic role of leader of industry."

The other aspect of managerial training of which Herr Kienbaum speaks, experience on the practical side, does not present any golden rules that must be followed to get to the top of the trees.

He said: "Whether this aspect of managerial training is conducted as a sandwich course in industry, an apprenticeship or a session of practical training on completion of the theoretical side is of minor importance."

Nor does he take much account of examination marks, considering them of little value in assessing a man's true worth.

He held: "On the other hand I would be hesitant to say that a man is cut out for a top position in management if all his examination results are mediocre. To reach the top of the ladder a trainee has

got to have at least one subject to which he can point and say 'that is my strong point'. An above average exam result in one subject is desirable."

What Gerhard Kienbaum does consider of vital importance is a sound knowledge of a foreign language or languages. "I consider that nowadays a knowledge of a foreign language is the basis on which a candidate for a leading managerial position builds. I would not stress that a number of foreign languages should be spoken like a native."

"The essential foreign language for a trainee in the Federal Republic is English and it looks as though this will hold true for some time to come. But if a man plans to go into the export trade then I would say that at least one other foreign language beside English is vital, or preferably two."

"It is a moot point whether the best second foreign language after English is French, or perhaps Spanish, or even one of the Slavic languages."

Is a knowledge of electronic data processing an essential on the road to the top?

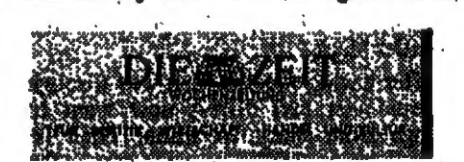
Kienbaum said: "It seems to me that electronic data processing is considered by many people to be a major development of the twentieth century. My answer to this question would be no, but I would stress that a familiarity with work systems, organisation of labour forces and in particular complicated work procedures is absolutely essential no matter what sphere of management is being aimed at."

All these qualifications and talents such as good exam results, a knowledge of foreign languages and a familiarity with electronics data processing are important factors for many personnel managers when they are taking on staff, but they are not decisive.

What is decisive is the impression a person makes.

How does a personnel manager gauge the personality of an applicant for a post?

"When a personnel manager is striving to find the right man for the right job, he cannot rely on his own feelings about the



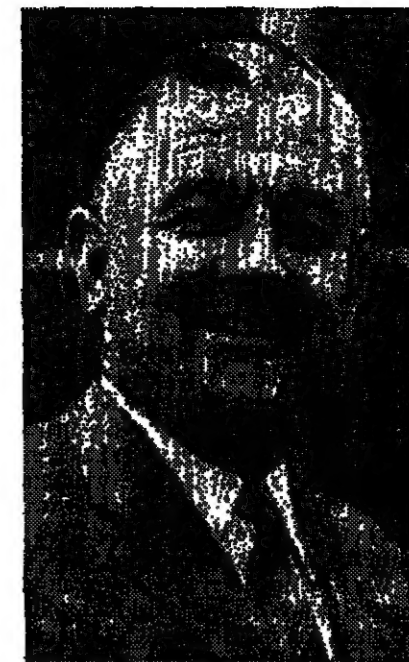
applicant alone. What he must do is weigh up carefully exactly what the man's prospective immediate superiors expect of the person who is to fill the vacancy, and what the company as a whole will require him to do.

"Thus a picture is built up of what the vacancy requires. And these requirements are then compared with the capabilities that the applicant shows himself to have. They are also compared to the man's experience and knowledge. How much the man knows about his job can be seen quite clearly from the programme of career training he has undertaken. His experience must be gauged on his previous employment and his ability to tackle tests given him."

"Therefore I believe that quite obviously it is insufficient to take the impression that an applicant makes on a personnel manager as the basis for giving him a contract or not."

Is it essential to obtain information about the previous career achievements of an applicant and weigh these factors up?

"This alone is not sufficient. What a man has achieved over a period of years or months in certain jobs given to him



Gerhard Kienbaum

(Photo: Ise Gollmer)

before is no yardstick for his talents and what he could achieve in another firm. Such information only shows that he has tackled his duties, with what success he has tackled them and under what conditions.

"Obviously it is not possible to obtain information such as this simply by question and answer. Data such as this must be confirmed by checks and double checks. This is the system I always use."

"I have learned by experience that the way a prospective employee presents himself at a certain time, in certain conditions, when asked certain questions differs from the impression he gives in the same conditions, faced with the same questions, but at a different time."

"Checking alone is not enough. It is vital to double check so that some kind of average can be found between the good impression a man may give on one occasion and the not so satisfactory impression he gives at another time for various reasons. Only thus can we see how a man is likely to perform over a long period."

Gerhard Kienbaum is concerned about getting the facts of a man's former career. But this is not his only concern.

"The facts do not end at what a man achieved in his previous job. By interviewing and asking specially prepared questions, and by changing the subject an interviewer can get an impression of how a prospective employee will fit into a new situation and how quickly he will adapt. This is a quality that is absolutely essential for a man who hopes to reach the top in management."

What importance is there in the question of how often a prospective employee has changed his job? Is so-called job-hopping, the frequent change of jobs to a better paid position, a swifter and more successful way to the top? Or does this just apply to America? In the Federal Republic is it not perhaps better to stay with one company and take regular, steady rises in income and position with a view to reaching the top at a certain time?

Kienbaum answered: "This question can only be tackled with a view to the job and the firm in which a man is working his way up. Ambitious men in America rely upon finding constant favour when they change jobs. In the Federal Republic many personnel managers are happy to see a man frequently change his job as long as he remains with one company."

"If he flits from one company to another spending only a few months with each I have found it is likely to have a detrimental effect on his efforts to reach the top."

"My personal advice would be for a man to change jobs and move to another company every two or three years while he is still young. A change of scene is likely to be beneficial rather than detrimental."

Rainer Brückschulte
(DIE ZEIT, 3 July 1970)

TALKING POINTS

Frankfurt's autumn fair

Exhibitors at the Frankfurt autumn fair, to be held from 30 August to 2 September this year are optimistic about their sales prospects at the fair.

The Fairs and Exhibitions Organisation in Frankfurt said, however, that it would be wrong to speak of general all-round optimism. At the moment the economic situation as it will affect exhibitors from all branches of the economy at the international fair is none too clear.

Products from over 2,750 firms will be on offer at the Frankfurt autumn fair. About 2,500 firms will be there as direct exhibitors. Apart from Federal Republic goods to be viewed and ordered at the fair there will be products from 570 companies representing 43 countries.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 1 July 1970)

Electorate pessimistic

Pessimism with regard to the economic situation in this country seems to be a growing trend, according to the Wickert Institute in Tübingen.

Their survey showed that 37 per cent of the electorate believe that in the second half of this year the economic situation will deteriorate.

Twenty-three per cent think things will improve and forty per cent foresee few changes in the next six months.

The percentage of pessimists is thus only seven per cent down on the crisis year 1966. At the end of 1969 only seventeen per cent of the electorate predicted that storm clouds would gather on the economic horizon.

(Händlerblatt, 3 July 1970)

More wine drunk

Last year each person in this country spent 22 Marks on wine, according to figures published by organisations connected with the wine industry.

With a steadily increasing rate of sales and fairly stable prices there has been in the past five years an increase of about fourteen per cent in the amount spent on wine.

Further figures show that the amount of wine bought per member of a household was 6.59 litres, which shows a slight increase on the previous year's figure.

In the year for which this report was issued each household bought wine on average six and a half times!

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 1 July 1970)

More chickens eaten

A new chicken-eating record was set up by citizens of the Federal Republic in the economic year 1969-70, according to the office for consumer advice in Bonn.

Between July 1969 and June 1970 as many as 280 million chickens were consumed in this country. This was an increase of 7.2 per cent on the previous economic year, or 19 million chickens!

The consumer advice office stated that chicken breeders in this country managed to keep up with the extra demand. They increased their output by nearly twenty per cent to 131 million chickens.

(Hannoversche Presse, 1 July 1970)

■ AUTOMOBILES

Road safety and the man at the wheel



A single chip of granite sent flying by the car in front can mean certain for the annual holiday of many a motorist. The stone shatters the single-layer safety glass windshield and the traveller sustains eye injuries.

Yet windshields are only one factor in the mosaic of built-in car safety. There is so much more: concertina zones for and aft designed to absorb the impact of a collision, passenger compartments designed to survive impact without deforming, doors and locks designed not to burst open and the like.

Invisible struts designed to bear the brunt of turning turtle are as much part and parcel of automotive safety as brakes that do not block. Cars today have steering columns designed to give on impact and not impale the luckless driver, or so it is hoped.

Safety means good vision, tyres that stand up to a good deal of wear and tear, shock absorbers, suspension, springs and wheel rims, fuel tanks and systems, brake tubing and sensible temperature controls, heated rear windows and dashboard controls that leave the driver in no doubt as to their function, safety belts and seats.

To read manufacturers' handouts it would be supposed that car-buyers nowadays are offered no end of safety precautions. To read accident reports in the press and on radio and TV the observer is justified in wondering how it is that so many people are still involved in accidents.

Cars have become far safer than they used to be, but at the same time they are faster and more powerful. Progress in safety is continually being overtaken by greater speed and power.

The safe car as proclaimed in the United States and to be built there at government request presents no problems. The problematic factor is man with his built-in mistakes. Besides, the safety sold today is only half-safe.

Seat belts, for instance, are as a rule not safe enough to guarantee safety on impact at 25 miles an hour.

Most head rests in and on "safety seats" have little point. In a collision they will not support the head and neck of the driver or passengers should they be thrown back. When it comes to the crunch either the head rest snaps back or the entire seat is torn out of its mountings.

These are only two of many alarming facts registered by Warentest, the independent consumer institute in Berlin set up with government support, and ADAC, the largest motoring organisation on the Continent.

They are, for that matter, only two of many safety aspects of cars. How would the allegedly so safe passenger compartment or the shock-absorbing concertina zones fare in tests conducted by independent organisations?

How, one may well ask, would similar tests end if safety steering columns were to be subjected to scrutiny?

And what about windshields? In a number of countries, including the United States and Sweden, the leading country for car safety, multi-layer glass is mandatory. In this country single-layer glass is felt to be adequate for the job.

While single-layer glass shatters into fragments on impact (it is, needless to say, cheaper) a multi-layer windshield

absorbs impact without immediately falling apart.

Opticians have not a good word to say about single-layer glass. Every day they have to deal with patients who have been at the receiving end of these fragments.

The industry, on the other hand, maintains that fragmentation windshields (some "fragments" are in inch or two in size) are no more dangerous and less safe than the multi-layer variety.

When a multi-layer windshield does break it leaves behind lethal long splinters of glass, the industry claims. What, it is asked, would happen if a passenger or a driver put his head through a windshield in this condition?

Yet oddly enough, multi-layer and is used in fast, expensive models and is available as an optional extra for most others.

Whichever way you look at it the completely safe car is as much wishful thinking as the car that needs no servicing or the car that emits no noxious exhaust fumes whatsoever. It will certainly remain one for the forthcoming decade.

What, then, is to be done? It just will not do that too many strings are pulled by too many interested parties in the safety sector. There may be any number of safety organisations that do their level best but there is no clear line.

The Traffic Safety Council, which still wavers between industry and public opinion, between government and motoring organisations of one kind and another, could function as the main coordinator.

But the council as yet lacks the personalities able to muster the full range of management enterprise. It has no really first-rate specialists, as opposed to voluntary workers who lend a hand out of a feeling of responsibility and common sense.

It is characteristic of the singular lack of aptitude shown in road safety that the president of the Traffic Safety Council happens to be the president of the Motor Manufacturers Association too.

The Council may be government-supported but the impression is conveyed that it is merely there to ease the government's uneasy conscience.

Minister of Transport Georg Leber recently stated at a traffic conference in Hanover that future governments will be judged more for their contributions to road safety than for their foreign policy successes.

How true! All the sadder, then, that this sound reasoning does not yet seem to have come home to roost other than at the Ministry of Transport.

The Traffic Safety Council needs not

only financial but also moral support from the government. For some reason we still seem unable to get together technicians, engineers and road safety specialists for genuinely independent consideration of the problems involved.

Yet there can be little doubt that the motor industry knows only too well about safety aspects, far better than institutes and university departments dependent on work commissioned by the industry and better still than government road safety bodies.

As long as profit, that is, profitability, goes before safety — or at least determines it — safety will remain an also-ran.

Desirable though safer cars, safer roads, safer traffic lights and road signs and a more comprehensible and safer highway code may be there remains the human element. Is enough being done to ensure that individuals are trained to be better and less ambitious drivers?

Ninety to 95 per cent of all traffic accidents can be attributed to human error. Someone has misjudged or not taken into account speed, traffic, weather and many other factors. Man is not, when all is said and done, a walking computer.

As a rule individuals do not become more interested in cars and road safety until they themselves or a member of the family are involved in an accident, not to mention the 16,000-odd road deaths a year.

Those not involved drive on. That is how people are. Even so, road safety must remain a political concern.

F. Gori Puhle

(DIE WELT, 3 July 1970)

Taxis change from black to white

Taxi drivers are no longer content to sweat it out in black. The roofs of their taxis, which must by law be black, reach temperatures of seventy centigrade (158 degrees Fahrenheit) and temperatures of up to sixty (140 Fahrenheit) have been recorded inside.

Why, taxi drivers everywhere wonder, cannot taxis be in less heat-absorbing colours? Yet all requests to the authorities so far have been countered with reference to the 1939 regulation that specifies black.

After having sweated their way through 32 summers taxi drivers now want to change from black to white. Their lamentations have now fallen on open ears in the Bonn Ministry of Transport.

Experts are now considering which colour is to be selected for the taxi look of the future. At the moment white seems likely to head the list.

(Münchener Merkur, 14 July 1970)

Volkswagen break ground with the K 70

Starting this autumn the Volkswagen K 70 will run off the assembly line at the new Volkswagen works in Salzgitter. The new model, developed ready-made by NSU prior to the merger with Audi and the subject of intense unveiling because of the technical concepts behind it, betrays NSU despite the VW emblem on its bonnet.

The K 70 differs from any Volkswagen to date in almost every respect. It only has a water-cooled engine and a wheel drive but also an extremely compact chassis by Volkswagen standards.

The K 70's body slightly resembles that of the NSU Ro 80 and is little different from the prototype version. It is characterised by large, slanting front windows, a low waistline and a short overhang at front and rear.

A distinctive pleat along the side of the body gives the K 70 a long and elegant look. The front section of the car is so attractive, though, it looks a bit clumsy.

The K 70 is available with two models of 1.6-litre, water-cooled engine. The 75-horse-power version has a compression ratio of 8:1 and runs on standard petrol; the ninety-horse-power model has a compression ratio of 9.5:1 and runs on super.

In both models maximum power is reached at 5,200 revolutions per minute. The 75-horse-power version makes torque 12.5 mkg at 3,500 rpm, the ninety-horse-power version 13.7 mkg at 4,000 rpm. With overhead camshaft fivefold crankshaft the engine is fed via a horizontal twin-carburettor unit.

The chassis is one of the most expensive designs on the market. All wheels are independently suspended, front by cross-struts, at the rear by struts. Both axles have transverse stabilisers.

The front, drive axle has disc brakes fitted with brake control to ensure that the rear does not swerve when the chocks are slammed on full.

The VW K 70, available not only with choice of engine but also in a standard de luxe version is a four-door, five-seater saloon with a self-supporting body.

The passenger compartment is designed as a rigid cell and concertina zones in front and aft are intended to absorb the impact of a collision.

The boot accommodates 84 cubic feet of luggage on top of the spare wheel and the twelve-gallon (fourteen US gallon) tank is safely housed in front of the rear axle.

Interior fittings include an upholstery safety steering column, an easy-to-use dashboard gear lever and thirteen dashboard indicators, including the speedometer.

According to works brochures the ventilation and heating system allows unlimited adjustment of the inflow of fresh and hot air, the temperature being thermostatically controlled. There is a three-stage fan and air outlet.

The K 70, Volkswagen claim, has a top speed of 93 and 99 miles an hour respectively and acceleration from 0 to 60 takes sixteen or 13.9 seconds. Average fuel consumption is 27 miles per gallon in either case, the difference being one of fuel grade.

The only information about the price of the new model to be released is that it will be above that of the Volkswagen 411. At present the most expensive version of the 411 costs 8,810 Marks in the country. Initial production will be 50 units a day.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 July 1970)

A prototype of the new VW K 70 to be released this autumn

■ RAILWAYS

Bundesbahn plans faster and safer inter-city links

Deutsche Bundesbahn, the German Federal Railways, have prepared plans to boost speed. A swift inter-city network with several services a day is to be introduced next year. This presupposes speeds of around 125 miles an hour and sections that slow down traffic are to be eliminated as far as possible. The confusion of tracks at through stations is said to present no problems. Yet will a faster rail network remain the safest mode of transport?

Following the tragic succession of railway accidents in Lower Saxony a month ago the safety image of the railways among members of the general public has suffered something of a setback.

The Bundesbahn points out that not even these serious crashes, none of which have been completely examined as yet, disprove the safety of rail travel.

The robust design of express carriages prevents even more serious injury despite full carriages derailing at well over sixty miles an hour. With "Safety first, speed second" as its motto, the Bundesbahn plans to press ahead with its inter-city network.

Faster locomotives are by no means the only answer to the problem. After years of trials, though, production of a long run of super-swift 103 class electric locomotives, of which there have so far been only four in existence, is now under way for delivery in time to serve the inter-city network.

Starting next year inter-city expresses with top speeds of up to 125 miles an hour will operate on four routes between Hamburg, Munich and Basel with three-hourly services during the daytime.

In addition to a thorough inspection and modernisation of the track the expresses will be using the most important measures to be undertaken prior to introduction of the services will be an improved signal system and new safety devices.

"More than 600 Bundesbahn expresses already travel at daily speeds of ninety miles an hour and more," Werner Hein of the Bundesbahn's Hanover region, comments. In recent years the railways have quadrupled the number of expresses travelling at these speeds.

Efforts so far have only been the beginning, though. At present only a few trains a day reach 125 miles an hour, and then only between Augsburg and Nuremberg.

125 mph on regular runs is no longer a vain hope, however, and will certainly not be when, probably in autumn next year, the new guideline system between Hamburg and Hanover is in operation.

Conventional signal systems and even the inductive system usual on most major lines (when a train passes a halt signal its brakes automatically operate) are no longer enough.

The greater the speed the longer the braking distance, particularly on rail. At 100 miles an hour even the most alert driver and the best-equipped locomotive cannot bring a train to a halt in less than a kilometre — five furlongs.

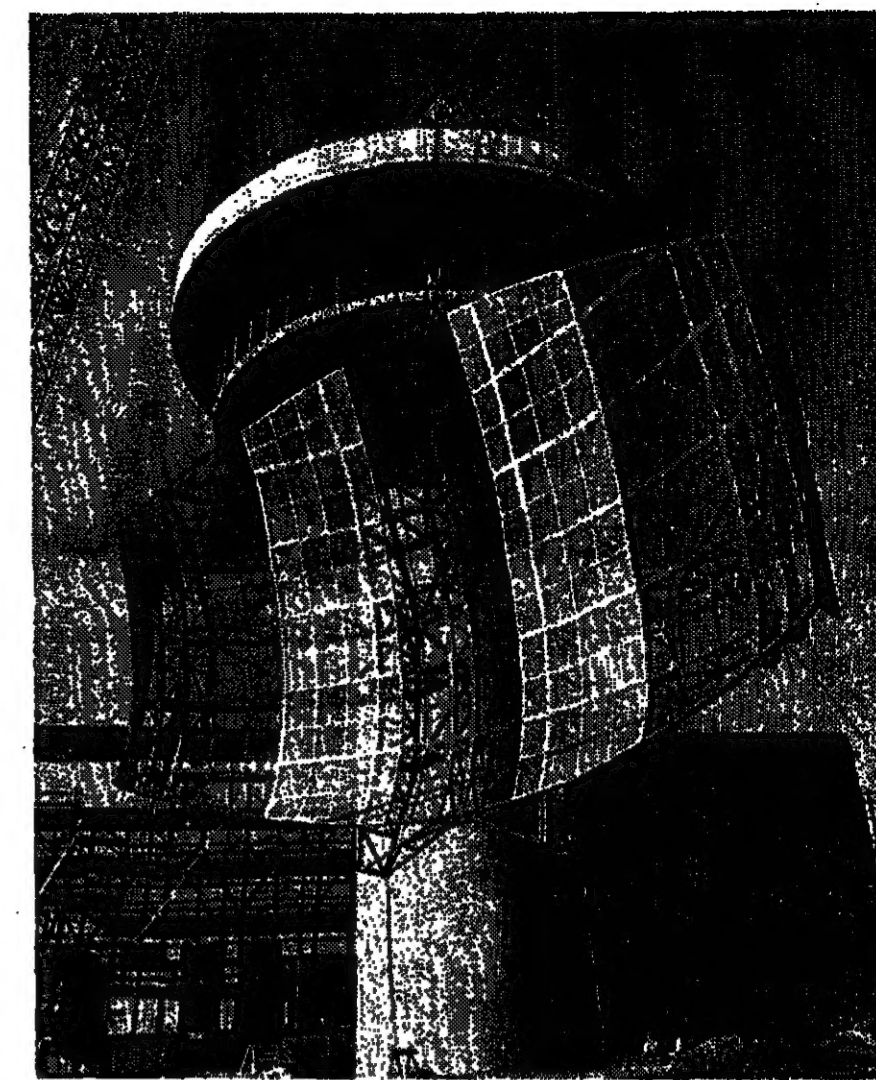
On the four main routes to and from Hanover — to Hamburg and Bremen in the north, the Ruhr in the west and Göttingen in the south — the Bundesbahn is incorporating a further safeguard: what is called overheating-radar.

These devices check passing trains, even expresses, electronically for overheated axles. Two units are in operation at Uelzen and Eschede on the Hanover-Hamburg route and two more at Varden and Rohrsen on the Hanover-Bremen route. Each device checks trains running in one direction.

At Brackwede and Bad Oeynhausen, where four tracks link Hanover and the West, overheating-radar units check two tracks in each direction, the tracks being for goods and passenger trains respectively.

Before the end of the decade, the Bundesbahn is convinced, train control on main routes will be mainly a matter for computers. The man who phones through to the next checkpoint as each train passes will remain but technology will do the donkey work, thinking in advance.

A central computer can collate information for an entire line — the 75 miles between Hanover and Bremen, for example. In cases of delay it can work out in a fraction of a second where an express will overtake a local train and transmit the necessary information to the slower train so that it can transfer to a siding, saving time for both trains.



High-powered radar

The radar eyes of the new SRE LL 1 Telefunken medium-range all-round control device commissioned by the Federal Flight Control Institute have a range of 200 miles. Work on the first of six of these devices recently began in Bremen. These largest radar devices ever to be designed in this country not only locate even the smallest objects to a distance of 200 miles but also to a height of up to 100,000 feet. The other five are to be situated in the Palatinate Forest, Nuremberg, Stuttgart, Düsseldorf and Hamburg.

(Photo: AEG/Telefunken)

Plastic pod for satellite solar cells

In a few years every train driver will be accessible by telephone from headquarters and vice-versa. This all presents no technical problems and elsewhere, on the world-famous Tokaido line in Japan, for instance, it has to all intents and purposes already been put into effect.

As far as the Bundesbahn is concerned it is merely a matter of money — and thousands of millions of Marks are needed.

Other European and overseas railway systems, the French, British and Japanese in particular, prove, however, that the money is well invested and more than pays its way.

SNCF of France operates one of the fastest railway systems in Europe and in part have long since put into effect some of the reforms envisaged by the Bundesbahn.

Ten years ago British Rail was not considered to be the most up-to-date in Europe, yet in the shortest conceivable space of time it has not only withdrawn a fleet of steam locomotives comparable in size to this country's but also introduced a network of inter-city links. The inter-city connections between, say, London and Manchester, have not only regained old customers but also won new ones and even seriously compete with domestic air services.

The Bundesbahn would like to outpace private cars and air services in the same way. Rail travel is to become faster, more comfortable and above all safer. And even in 1970 the Alfeld and Celle crashes will not stop the railways from heading the list for safety in traffic.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 July 1970)

With technology at its present stage of development solar cells would appear to be the best solution to the problem of providing electric power for satellites.

They are mounted on so-called module carriers which then cover the outer surface of the spacecraft and have already been used by this country in the Azur project.

At their Kassel insulation material works AEG-Telefunken have developed a new multi-layer plastic containing a system of conductor currents for connecting the various photographic elements.

These currents must be accessible from the surface at specific points in order to enable connections to be made.

The use of this material as a module carrier ensures optimum coverage of the satellite's outer surface with photographic cells.

The new carrier material is expected to fulfil the same material requirements as the entire space device in respect of resistance to extreme heat and cold, radiation and electric tension in particular.

Special manufacturing processes guaranteeing extreme cleanliness and freedom from dust and ensuring extreme accuracy in respect of dimensions and thickness were developed for the new product.

(Hannoversche Presse, 30 June 1970)

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